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The Shape of Things

THE GREATEST NEWS OF THE WEEK IS NEWS of an event that has not happened. From every neutral rumor factory and from the capitals of the warring countries come stories of the imminent assault on Fortress Europe. Observers piece together such items as the concentrated bombing of Nazi communication centers, the high spring tides, the removal of civilians from invasion areas, the unheard-of restrictions placed by Britain on the movements and messages of diplomats, indications of coordinated military actions on the eastern and western fronts. From these happenings many calculations have been made and announced. Their accuracy can be checked when the first Allied soldier wades ashore on the first Continental beachhead. But no one doubts that the attack will come soon or that the last phase of the war is about to begin. It is only the duration of the struggle that remains uncertain. Has the Allied command learned the lessons provided by the mighty Russian offensive and by our own experience in North Africa and Italy? The most obvious and urgent one is the necessity of operating on a scale great enough to prevent the enemy from regrouping his forces and moving them in to meet new thrusts. Ludwig Renn's article this week shows clearly how the Russians have accomplished this vital objective. Another lesson is the necessity of utilizing to the full the resistance forces inside each country. We failed to do this in Italy; indeed, the effect of our unhappy political strategy there was to neutralize the entire underground movement. Perhaps better plans have been made for cooperating with the resistance in France and the other Western nations. Unfortunately, such plans require political as well as military ability, and this is something our leaders notoriously lack. On the other hand, the anti-fascist forces in Western Europe are well organized, tempered, and bitterly determined—far more so than in southern Italy. They need arms—and the confidence of the Allied commanders. The length of the war and the number of Allied lives lost will largely depend on how much of both they get.

*

THE CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL Labor Organization at Philadelphia opened with a demonstration by the Workers' Section against the fascist dictatorship in Argentina. Under the leadership of Lombardo Toledano, Mexican labor delegate and president

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of the Latin American Federation of Labor, the section voted fourteen to three in favor of excluding the Argentine labor representative, Luis Girola, and his advisers. Speaking to the press, Toledano indicted the Argentine government for its wholesale suppression of freedom, including the freedom of labor organization. It was not, he argued, merely one of those personal dictatorships common in Latin American history but a government based on a theory totally opposed to democracy. Moreover, he continued, it was spreading its poison throughout Latin America, creating a Western political front for Hitler. A minority composed of the United States, British and Australian delegates accepted Girola's statement that, while the Argentine unions had suffered some interference, they remain substantially free. Robert Watt, A. F. of L. representative, suggested that it might be unwise to probe too deeply into the question of how freely unions could operate under a dictatorship. That, he indicated, would raise doubts about the good faith of other delegations. This attitude is not quite consistent with that of the A. F. of L. in regard to the Russian unions. What is more important, and dangerous, however, is its passive acceptance of the dilution of the workers' voting strength in the I. L. O. through the admission to their section of totalitarian stooges.

✶

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S LAME ATTEMPT TO get out from under the political disaster of the Miller letters is as fatuous as his original replies were stupid. "Sinister" seems to be a favorite word with the General; he "entirely repudiates" the "sinister interpretation" that his letters "were intended as criticism of any political philosophy or of any personages in higher office." This will come as a surprise to the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press, which welcomed the letters as such, and to any person who can read English. The General's letters to Representative Miller were certainly much more than the "amiable acknowledgments" he now terms them. MacArthur did not include, as a wiser man would have done, even a single phrase on which he could fall back to prove that he had not been utterly lacking in the respect due his commander-in-chief and the loyalty one expects in a soldier. The reaction of the Republican and conservative press indicates just how big a blunder MacArthur has made. The New York *Times,* the New York *Herald Tribune,* the Washington *Post,* and even the New York *Sun* condemned or deplored the General's attitude, the *Sun* saying that as a politician MacArthur "belongs somewhere near the foot of the class."

✶

THE PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN London will have repercussions far beyond the bounds of the British Commonwealth. British pressure for a more closely knit empire has found expression in the speech of Lord Halifax in Toronto and the more recent speeches of such polar opposites as Mr. Shinwell and Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons. Mr. Shinwell urged that Britain seek its post-war markets within the empire and Mr. Churchill reminded the House that the Atlantic Charter had expressly provided for the continuation of a system of imperial preference. This emphasis comes as a distinct blow to those who thought that an inclusive system of multilateral trade agreements was a comparatively easy step in the direction of international collaboration. Britain's concern for its competitive post-war position is undoubtedly due partly to uncertainty about our foreign policy and our willingness to accept commitments after the war. Unfortunately, the solution it seeks appears neither realistic nor likely to lead to happy results. In the first place, it seems to run counter to prevailing trends within the Commonwealth. Our close relations with Canada have made us aware of its intense national consciousness and its competence to handle its own foreign policy as exemplified in trade agreements and joint defense and joint economic arrangements. Recent statements by the leaders of the three major Canadian political parties indicate little desire to follow the British lead and a solid determination to preserve the Commonwealth on its present basis. In the second place, moves toward a more centralized empire and a tight system of imperial preference will provide an excellent excuse for our own economic imperialists to swing into action. Prime Minister King of Canada was giving sound advice to us all when in reply to Lord Halifax he "rejected the idea of inevitable rivalry between the great powers" and stated that Canada would strive for "close cooperation among those great states themselves and all like-minded countries."

✶

DRASTIC DEFENSE REGULATIONS AIMING AT instigators of strikes have been decreed by the British government in an attempt to check the wave of walkouts. There is no doubt that recent stoppages in the coal fields and shipyards have seriously affected production, but it is debatable whether the situation will be improved by police measures. If it were true that such strikes were mostly the work of professional agitators, jail sentences and fines might effect a cure. But while the Communists inveigh against subversive Trotskyites, no one familiar with British labor can believe that such elements are strong enough to play a role of real importance. It would be more realistic to seek a psychological explanation for most of the recent strikes. After five years of constant overwork on slim rations the British workers are now experiencing the strain of waiting for invasion and the climax of the struggle. When "D-Day" arrives we may be sure they will close the ranks, but meanwhile Labor Minister Ernest Bevin's order may serve to heighten irritation rather than decrease it. It is true that the order, while imposing penalties up to five years' imprisonment

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and a $2,000 fine for persons found guilty of fomenting strikes, does not prohibit the advocacy of strikes in properly constituted union meetings. But as Aneurin Bevan, M.P., has pointed out, this safeguard amounts to "liberty by license" and, in addition, contrives to put the rank-and-file trade unionists in the hands of their officials. Mr. Bevan's claim that the order should have been first submitted to Parliament will attract some support in the House of Commons. But the military situation will probably enable the government to avert any open rebellion among the members.

*

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HAS issued its program for the post-war period. It is in many ways an admirable document which manages to avoid the evils of abstract internationalism into which so much liberal and labor thought is easily betrayed. It pleads for "the transformation of the war-time alliances of the United Nations into an organization for peace" and insists that "unilateral action and regional understandings are valid only when in accord with measures taken by the General International Organization." There is, however, a curious emphasis upon the necessity of maintaining "free enterprise" which occasionally suggests that the document might have emanated from the National Association of Manufacturers rather than a federation of labor. One would expect to find labor more definitely committed to planning per se, though one may be gratified that labor also recognizes the peril to liberty in any overall collectivism. As a matter of fact on most of the specific issues the A. F. of L. program demands a great deal of planning and calls for all kinds of political controls of the industrial process and governmental guaranties of minimal standards. Why this pragmatic approach should be confused by an abstract and absolute identification of democracy with "free enterprise" is a mystery which a future student of our social history may find difficult to unravel. Or perhaps he will find in it the key to our major difficulties; for it reveals to what degree the dogmas of the owning groups have affected the political thought of all classes.

*

OUR HATS ARE OFF TO OUR CONTEMPORARY the *New Yorker* for its definitive profile of J. B. Matthews, "director of research" of the Dies committee. Matthew Josephson and Russell Maloney are the gifted biographers, and the piece appeared in the issue of April 22. A paragraph on the semantics of the Dies committee cites the following useful syllogism: "No conservative is a Communist; most New Dealers are not conservatives; therefore most New Dealers are Communists." We recommend the piece to all our readers and, more particularly, to members of Congress.

The Rules of Trade

THE Honorable Harold Knutsen, Republican minority leader of the all-important House Ways and Means Committee, is reported to have said in commenting on the new World Money Stabilization plan: "They deny, but not to my satisfaction, that if this super-world government is going to fix gold values, they will also have the power to tell us what our tariffs are going to be." It does not need a psychologist to detect here the normal fear reaction to the mysterious. The Representative, when he made his statement, had not had time to study the plan, let alone understand it. Had he managed to penetrate its unfortunately opaque phraseology and to translate into concrete terms its severely abstract ideas, he would surely have realized that its weakness is over-caution rather than over-ambition.

Certainly this proposal for an International Stabilization Fund, which has been agreed upon in principle by the experts of some thirty nations, suggests nothing approaching a super-government. At every point the plan defers humbly to national sovereignties. The strongest powers it proposes for the managers of the Fund are of a negative kind. If, for instance, a member state persistently buys more abroad than it sells, causing the Fund to accumulate an excessive amount of its national money. the managers may refuse to sell it other currencies until it takes steps to restore its balance of payments. At no foreseeable date is the United States likely to find itself in this position. What is much more probable is that if we continue, as for years past, to sell more goods and services abroad than we buy, the demand on the Fund for dollars will outrun the supply. In this event, the managers may apportion the supply and authorize member states to restrict exchange dealing in dollars with a view of rationing their own nationals. This step would, of course, tend to reduce the demand for American commodities. And while taking this provisional precaution, it would be the duty of the Fund to report on the causes of dollar scarcity and recommend a remedy.

Such recommendations might reasonably include proposals for a reduction of American tariffs since this would enable other countries to sell more goods here and thus replenish, indirectly, the Fund's supply of dollars. But it would still be the privilege of Congress to accept or reject the suggestion. The only power behind the management would be the force of public opinion, which might well express itself strongly if it were realized that the rejection of the recommendations could lead to a breakdown of the world monetary system.

There is a widespread belief in this country that we ought to expand our foreign trade after the war. Many business-men are looking to world markets as an outlet for surplus goods and a means of maintaining employ-

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ment. Everyone recognizes that foreign trade cannot be safely conducted when money values fluctuate violently. Hence there is a demand, which this new plan seeks to satisfy, to anchor the chief currencies of the world firmly to gold. Representative Knutson would agree, we are sure, that the world should be made safe for American commerce. But we cannot expect to combine expanding trade and stable exchanges with a chronically favorable balance of payments. We must either buy from other countries the equivalent of what we sell or force them to fall back on exchange restrictions and barter.

Recent discussions in Britain of a sterling bloc, which have so alarmed some commentators here, do not mean that the British have turned their backs on the ideal of an expanding multilateral exchange of goods as envisaged in the Atlantic Charter. They indicate, rather, a search for an alternative method of maintaining that volume of trade without which Britain cannot survive, in case the United States insists on continuing to try and play the game of international commerce on the basis of purely national rules.

The proposals which have been agreed on in Washington as a basis for discussion at the forthcoming world monetary conference are an attempt to draw up new rules. They are not definite and they do not impose policies on any nation. But if they are adopted they imply a steady reduction of trade barriers everywhere. For we cannot begin to cure the disorders of the international exchanges unless we first understand, and act on the understanding, that trade is an exchange of benefits.

Labor and the A. T. & T.

THE American Telephone and Telegraph Company has always boasted of the wide distribution of its stock and implied that the company was virtually a publicly owned concern. But its management, using the proxies in its control, has just indignantly rejected a proposal at the annual meeting that its employees be represented on the board. The proposal was made by the United Telephone Organization, an independent union, which nominated its president and another union official for A. T. and T. directorships. On a democratic basis the employees of the company have a strong case for representation on the board, since they represent the largest single stockholding interest. Not even the largest insurance companies own more than 1 per cent of the 18,000,000-odd shares outstanding, but the company's employees, who owned about a million shares in 1930, still hold some 600,000 today, or about 3 per cent of the total. If the sale of stock to employees is to be a means of democratizing industry, as big-business apologists often contend, then we think A. T. and T.'s workers ought to have a voice on its board.

One reason why management is so strongly opposed to labor representation was indicated when counsel for the union charged that 185,000 employees were discharged in the years from 1929 to 1936, while the $9 dividend rate was being maintained. A labor representative would fight to maintain employment at the expense of dividends. The fullest employment practicable also means better service for the public, but aside from that the public interest would be served by labor representation. An example was provided by another union resolution introduced at the annual meeting, and promptly snowed under by management proxies. This was to discontinue negotiations to transfer A. T. and T.'s teletype, leased lines, telegraphic facilities, and (we understand also) certain communications patents to Western Union. Labor's primary interest in this, of course, is to maintain employment at A. T. and T. But this happens to coincide with a public interest in maintaining some vestiges of competition in telegraphic communications now that the merger of Western Union and Postal has been approved.

We don't know why A. T. and T. is willing to negotiate the surrender of this portion of its business to Western Union. We think that on investigation, and we hope the Federal Communications Committee will investigate the proposed transfer, it might be found that there were interlocking interests between the two companies and between them and certain communications equipment manufacturing concerns. It is also possible that there is a "gentlemen's agreement" not to invade each other's preserves. But we do know that Western Union, unlike A. T. and T., has been a very backward company technologically. The extent of this backwardness is fully and graphically set forth in the dissent which Clifford J. Durr of the FCC filed last year in opposition to the commission's order approving the merger with Postal. On the basis of the record, there is good reason to believe that Western Union might use its control of A. T. and T. facilities and processes merely to limit competition and to stifle new communications methods.

Commissioner Durr, citing the testimony of Western Union's vice-president in charge of engineering, pointed out that the company planned to take ten years after the war to instal reperforation equipment. This device is "now conceded to be obsolete." Not until after that time will the company "turn its attention to more efficient methods, which the witness stated are already available and proved to be practicable from an economic as well as engineering standpoint." The progress promised is at a snail's pace, and the snail's pace is at the expense of the public. Commissioner Durr compared the situation to that of a drayman "who promises to replace his old wagon . . . but refuses to buy a truck until his horse is too old for further use." Durr predicted that "he may well find that his competitor's truck has made his horse valueless long before ripened years have entitled it to retirement to pasture." To carry on Durr's metaphor, it would seem that the drayman is now anxious to buy the

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old competing truck and put it out of business so that he can continue to operate a horse and wagon profitably. The A. T. and T. union has demonstrated its public usefulness by calling attention to the proposed deal with Western Union. Fortunately, as Walter Gifford of A. T. and T. admitted, its consummation requires the approval of the FCC.

Peace Terms for Japan

III—Political

IT IS generally agreed that the military and economic clauses of the ultimate peace treaty with Japan will have to be strict enough to prevent any possibility of Japan recouping its strength for a new adventure in world conquest within the foreseeable future. But if the basis of a lasting peace is to be laid in the Far East, means will have to be found to bring Japan within the orbit of democracy. This will be facilitated if the economic peace terms are drawn in such a way as to facilitate a higher standard of living in Japan.

The political conditions to be imposed upon Japan are equally important. The Japanese are an extraordinarily proud people; they have long chafed under the smug attitude of superiority demonstrated by many Westerners. This aspect of Japanese psychology undoubtedly made it easier for the Japanese militarists to obtain general support for what was at best a desperate war against great odds. Unless strenuous corrective measures are taken, the shock of defeat will accentuate the peculiar quirks in the Japanese character. This can only be avoided if the political conditions of peace are designed to encourage the mind-healing democratic forces that until now have been crushed by the militarists.

Many people despair of a constructive approach to the Japanese problem because of the weakness of the democratic elements within Japan. Admittedly, they are weak, compared with similar forces in Germany or Italy. But they are stronger than most Americans realize. In Japan's last "free election," at the end of April, 1937, the Japanese people expressed themselves clearly as opposed to the militarists' aggressive program. A series of strong anti-war strikes developed in the Japanese munitions industries in the fall of 1941. Articles have appeared in the Tokyo press complaining that some Japanese were being "infected by American and British ideas." This may not seem to be much to go on, but it must be remembered that an overwhelming majority of the Japanese people, peasants and workers alike, have been ruthlessly exploited by the militarist-industrialist coalition. If we can destroy the bonds by which they are held in subjection, the political climate of Japan may change.

One of the most effective means utilized by the militarists to strengthen their hold over the masses is the doctrine of Emperor worship. By taking upon themselves the right to speak in the Emperor's name, the militarists were able not only to dominate policy but to make sure of wide-spread popular support for their imperialist program. The unique position of the Emperor in Japanese psychology is a factor which must be reckoned with in the peace treaty. Indignities heaped upon his person without ideological preparation would almost certainly fan the fires of Japanese nationalism and thwart all efforts to bring the Japanese people into the democratic camp. Some observers with long experience in Japan even go so far as to urge that the Emperor be retained as a stabilizing force in the Japanese political structure and that the required transformation of the Japanese social structure be made, as past Japanese revolutions have been made, in the Emperor's name. The objection to this proposal is that the whole conception of the Emperor as Son of Heaven is inescapably linked with the mystic *Kodo* (imperial way) which the militarists have used to justify their campaign for world conquest. If Japan is to be transformed into a peace-loving nation, the imperial myths must be discredited.

Obviously, this cannot be done overnight. Nor can it be imposed by dicta in the peace treaty. Nothing short of a thoroughgoing revolution can accomplish this task quickly. Nevertheless, it is essential that conditions be established under which the Emperor can be detached from the militarists, and the development of modern, progressive ideas encouraged among the Japanese people. As a step in this direction, Shintoism might be banned as a state religion on the ground that it sanctions a policy of aggression inconsistent with the requirements of peace. Properly handled, the discrediting of the Emperor cult, much of the symbolism of which is of comparatively recent origin, may not prove as difficult as many Westerners have believed. Many Japanese have indirectly revealed their doubts regarding it. Defeat should deal a heavy blow to the Emperor's prestige. And positive measures to bring Japan back into the family of nations would help to free the Japanese mind from medieval mysticism.

This last is particularly important. Steps must be taken to restore a sense of dignity to the Japanese people. Once a democratic leadership has manifested itself, it must be strengthened by all possible means. The Allies must make it clear from the outset that a place will be found in the council of nations for a genuinely democratic Japanese government. If possible, special encouragement should be given to the trade-union movement. A democratic Japan should be given full and free access to the world's raw materials and markets so that it may provide a standard of living for its people that was never possible under militarism. There can be no guaranty that these measures will be successful. But the one hope of permanent peace in the Far East lies in this direction.

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The Shadow Over the Capital

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 20

REPRESENTATIVE COX of Georgia is no longer chairman of the Special House Committee Investigating the Federal Communications Commission, and Eugene L. Garey is out as counsel, but these changes do not seem to have made much difference in the committee's approach and tactics. The questions asked Mrs. Hilda D. Shea, former chief of the Special Studies Section of the FCC's War Policies Division, deserve attention. Harry S. Barger, the committee's new counsel, seems to be carrying on in the Garey tradition. Garey is a partner of Liberty Leaguer Raoul E. Desvernine, and was counsel for I. G. Farben interests and allies in several suits designed to keep General Aniline and Film from American control. Garey appeared to think it one of his duties to find out which employees of the FCC were Jewish. Barger's questions were designed to elicit the fact that Mrs. Shea's maiden name was Jewish and that her father was a Russian immigrant. This information would, of course, be highly relevant in a Nazi court. Barger ought to go back where he should have come from.

Mrs. Shea was called upon to deny that she was a Communist or a Communist sympathizer, but she admitted —sit tight for a horrendous revelation!—that while employed as an attorney by the National Labor Relations Board she received a letter from Mrs. Beatrice M. Stern, an NLRB division chief, asking her to support Labor's Non-Partisan League. Barger pointed out that the league was sponsored by the C. I. O., which he no doubt regards as a subversive organization, but with striking forbearance made no reference to the fact that the league was equally notorious as a labor-front group designed to reelect F—— D—— R——. Mrs. Shea was also asked whether she belonged to the National Lawyers' Guild, but she said she didn't. Barger disclosed that the guild had been described as a Communist-front organization. I can't imagine what Barger will be discovering next.

Barger is not a very funny joke. He and his committee are only one of the agencies fouling the air of Washington and making the city unlivable for progressive government employees. We have just seen the Dies and Kerr committees drive from public life so fine and honorable a man as Robert Morss Lovett. I note that Lovett, who is incorrigible, has just been reelected a vice-president of the League for Industrial Democracy, along with such other subversives as John Haynes Holmes, Alexander Meiklejohn, and Bishop Francis J. McConnell. Their careers may be found fully set forth in Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling's "The Red Network." While Mrs. Dilling is on trial for sedition, her faithful readers seem to be carrying on quite nicely at the Capitol.

It is not entirely irrelevant at this point to take note of the address delivered this week by J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the FBI, before the annual meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution in New York. Hoover's principal animus, in the frankest speech this old hero of the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press has permitted himself in several years, was aimed at "militant, self-seeking, loudly vocal groups of muddled emotionalists, parlor pinks, fellow-travelers, and avowed Communists." Hoover said the FBI keeps strictly out of politics. But at the beginning of a Presidential campaign one may wonder just what political movement was identified with Hoover's words by the good ladies of the D. A. R., who have long suspected the President and the New Deal of the worst.

I wonder what the ladies thought Hoover meant when he attacked "superficial sugar-coated panaceas that are neither democratic nor defensible"—these ladies who voted a resolution urging Congressmen to oppose passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill for compulsory federal health insurance. I am revealing no secrets when I report that the press corps here thought of pro-Roosevelt *PM* when Hoover criticized as "irresponsible" those editors who "not only proclaim their personal views but urge their readers to wire or write their demands urging this or that action." Had the wicked editors been named they would have grounds for libel action in Hoover's next sentence, "The fascist-minded tyrant is no different from the native-born communistic-minded corruptionist." If all this isn't sly dabbling in politics, the dictionary must have been revised since I last looked at it.

This revived appearance of a way of thinking some people hoped J. Edgar Hoover had outgrown is a serious matter for the post-war period. The FBI will be in part responsible for the enforcement of New Deal legislation for the protection of labor's right to organize. It cannot function effectively if it is to be operated in political illiteracy and obscurantism, and the way in which it does comport itself may play a crucial role in the readjustment of our society to peace-time conditions. "The guaranties which the Constitution throws around civil liberties,"

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the La Follette committee said in the first of its great reports on employers' associations and collective bargaining in California, "are neither pious declarations nor archaic echoes of the historic past; they are the ground plan for the healthy functioning of an industrial society. Their infraction will shatter our democratic society upon its internal conflicts; their fulfilment will enable it to achieve a strength and unity which no domestic or foreign enemy can challenge."

Before the war the FBI had become the top agency and in many ways the national coordinator for local and state police activities, and these were often aimed at the suppression of labor's rights. How the local and state authorities operated in California is dramatically set forth in the La Follette committee's latest report, Part VIII of the California series. This deals with the Associated Farmers and warns that "there is good reason to believe that the pattern of California in the years 1935-39 is the pattern for the United States today or tomorrow." It points out that from the days of Greece and Rome to "the struggles in Eastern Europe after World War No. 1, the relationship of men to the land they worked and to the fruits of their labor has been the nub of endless tyranny and conflict." It recalls "the participation of the landed Junkers in Hitler's rise to power, the place of the large landholders of rich Italian valleys in the vanguard of Mussolini's early maneuvers, the support of fascist rule in Spain and Hungary by similar groups."

These lessons, the La Follette committee says, "cannot be ignored." Agriculture is a major form of livelihood for the American people. California is the state which exhibits most clearly what may happen as large landholdings increase, as agriculture becomes more scientific, and as it develops into a big business rather than a way of life: "It is inevitable that the pattern set for employer-employee relationships in agriculture in California, if retrogressive, reactionary, or semi-fascist in tone, will be a great blow to the cause of economic democracy." Before the war, as the report shows, state and local police in California were often so closely interlocked with employer associations and their labor spies and provocateurs as to seem part of one great machine for the oppression of labor, agricultural and industrial. The Associated Farmers itself owed its financing largely to the California Packing Corporation and the Industrial Association of San Francisco; local and state police, hired thugs and vigilantes did the dirty work. Some of the principal police characters, such as "Red" Hynes of Los Angeles, who was paid $6,727.40 by the Associated Farmers from February, 1935, to May, 1937, exchanged information with the FBI.

If there is any hope of carrying over into the post-war period the better employee-employer relations developed during the war, much will depend on the FBI and the Department of Justice and their influence over local and state police. Much will also depend on the spirit prevailing in Washington, and especially in Congress. Among many business men, in California, here, and elsewhere, there are signs of a new spirit that is most encouraging. But I cannot report the same of official Washington.

How the Red Army Wins

BY LUDWIG RENN

Mexico City, April 10

THE Russian offensive that began last winter has political as well as military objectives. The political aim is to free the satellite countries from German domination; the military, to get into position for an attack on Germany itself. The strategy of the Russian general staff enables Russia to hold its reserves in readiness near Moscow and at the same time forces the Germans to scatter their reserves so that they are not available in large numbers to repel an attack at any point. Stalin is trying, especially, to draw the Nazi reserves toward the northern and southern ends of the front.

The Red Army is able to follow this strategic plan because the country behind the Russian lines is a plain over which a network of railroads and highways is spread pretty evenly, whereas the country behind the Nazi lines presents three great obstacles to transportation and communication. In the center are the Pripet Marshes, a hundred miles wide and a hundred miles deep; in the north is the Gulf of Finland, separating Finland from Estonia; in the south is the great horseshoe of the Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps. Under the limitations imposed by these facts of geography, the main Nazi communication and transport system runs northward from Warsaw in a corridor between the battle front and the Baltic Sea, and southward in another corridor between the battle front and the Carpathians. Thus it is possible for the Red Army, by parallel thrusts on both sides of the Pripet Marshes, to threaten both the communications leading from the extreme northern wing in Finland and Estonia through Poland into Germany, and those leading from the southern wing on the Black Sea through Bucharest, Budapest, and Vienna into Germany.

Correspondents never tire of repeating that if the rail-

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roads running northeast through the Carpathians were cut, the Nazi armies in the south would have no means of retreat. Actually, however, the most important effect would be to make the transportation of German reserves, most of which are in Poland, slower by days or even weeks. Faced with this possibility, Hitler may feel compelled to divide his reserves into two parts, one in Poland and one in Hungary and Rumania. In that case he would, indeed, have a better distribution of reserves near the front, but those in the south would be unable to help those in the north, and vice versa; whereas Stalin is able to move any part of his reserves quickly to any part of the front.

One of the favorite strategic devices of the Russian general staff is to force Hitler to move ever-increasing numbers of troops on ever-diminishing railway facilities; as a result it frequently happens that by the time the Nazi reinforcements arrive on the field the battle is already lost—the cannon and other heavy arms abandoned, the beaten troops in full flight. The Russians do this by attacking alternately north and south of the Pripet Marshes. Thus in the first months of last winter they exerted pressure exclusively in the south; then at the turn of the year they suddenly attacked with great force in the north, wiped out the powerful Nazi army besieging Leningrad, and rolled southwest to Grenz and Pskov. Hitler's troops were driven halfway to the Baltic before they were able to make a stand. The northern corridor was cut down to half its former width, and the next attack in this sector will probably close it altogether.

At present the Russians are attacking with ever-increasing force in the south.

This southern offensive marks a departure from the methods used up to now. In all previous campaigns two armies were united under one leader—under an attacking general such as Zhukov, Konev, or Vatutin. This time, however, there seem to be three double armies moving in close coordination under one command. Their purpose, now that they have squeezed the Nazis into a narrow corridor on the southern front, is apparently to make them transfer troops back and forth behind the lines as much as possible. Since the north-south trains and trucks carrying reinforcements from one part of the front to another cross the routes of the east-west trains and trucks bringing up reserves, the resulting confusion is almost unbelievable. In the face of this three-pronged Russian attack, the Nazi reserves and reinforcements have almost always arrived too late.

The most sensational part of the campaign thus far has been General Konev's drive in one week across the Bug and Dniester rivers, where the Nazis must have prepared strong defenses. Already the most important railroad east of the Carpathians, the Warsaw-Odessa line, has been cut, and by the time this article appears in print the Russians will almost certainly have captured the last highway in the southern corridor. The Red Army has also pushed on into Hungary and Rumania, and panic has resulted in both countries.

But just as the correspondents were wrong in predicting that the Nazi armies in the Ukraine would have to surrender, so they were wrong in predicting that Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria would sue for peace. No one seems to have asked how these countries could do such a thing. Could Hitler possibly allow Hungary to back out of the war now that the southern corridor is lost and the supply line for the southern armies must run through Budapest? Could he permit the Bulgarians to make peace and place their railroads at the disposal of the Russians? Then the Red Army could cross the Black Sea, roll through Bulgaria to join hands with Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia, and establish a Balkan front almost a thousand miles long, stretching northward through Rumania, Hungary, and Austria. To forestall such a development, Hitler has occupied Hungary, Slovakia, and Rumania—to whatever extent they were not already occupied.

The Russian victories in the south have had great political as well as military consequences. When Hitler occupied the Balkan countries, he had to send many divisions into them. This did not weaken his reserves as much as may have been thought, for the occupation troops were also used as fighting reserves. But of course these reserves are many miles away from the northern front and from France. The occupation, moreover, has weakened the position of Hitler's friends in the satellite coun-

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tries. Hitler never had any sympathizers among the workers and peasants of the Balkans; now he is losing the nationalists and militarists too. It is quite possible that the nationalist officers of the Balkan armies will sabotage Hitler's war or even go over to the Russians with their troops.

What can be expected in the immediate future on the Russian front? The Soviet armies in the south will probably keep up their pressure, seeking to draw large contingents of Hitler's reserves down to the Black Sea. Meanwhile, the northern Russian armies are accumulating heavy siege material. Soon we shall see another drive in this sector, as they try to push on to the Baltic Sea, overrun the northern corridor, and isolate Finland. Heavy losses of men and material will be suffered, but there is no other way to win a war. The disappointing results of British and American operations in Italy have demonstrated that.

The landing at Nettuno, between Cassino and Rome, was intended to cut a railroad and encircle a large force of Nazis. But apparently the whole action was planned on a miniature scale, in order to risk as few losses as possible, and so it failed. It didn't even cause the Nazis to send a large number of troops into Italy. Such actions always fail if they are carried out too cautiously. In the east the war is being conducted on a large scale and with an energy that must be frightening to Hitler; in the west it is confined to local actions, on separate fronts, without coordination.

If the Western Allies attack France in the same cautious manner, Hitler will be able to stop them with occupation troops already there. But if they attack in great strength he will have to draw on his reserves elsewhere. At the same time he will have to use more occupation troops to guard against a French uprising, just as he has been forced to do in the Balkans. The Red Army is making it very difficult for Hitler to transport his reserves from one part of the eastern front to another. If a big second front should develop, he would be further hampered by the necessity of moving troops from Poland to France. Then the Red Army, in its accustomed manner, could force him to scatter the rest of his reserves, after which it would be in a position to liberate the Balkan countries.

The First World War was won only when the three fronts—in France, around Salonika, and in Palestine—were coordinated. And only by coordinating the eastern and western fronts can the Allies liberate the Bulgarians, the Austrians, and the wavering Turks from the Nazis. If, for example, the Allies gave Tito really substantial help, it would be possible to establish good coordination between east and west. But in order to bring this about we must get rid of the widespread delusion that Hitler's Wehrmacht can be defeated without serious losses on our side.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

MANY PEOPLE UNDERESTIMATE the German Nazis. National Socialism represents much more than an anti-Jewish movement. Nazis are not mere "political gangsters and racketeers." They have principles. They even have a philosophy. . . . An official summary of [the Law for the Regulation of National Labor] states that "the basis of the new social constitution is the factory. The 'leader' (Führer) of the factory is the owner. He decides on all factory matters. . . . The following must show its leader the loyalty which is founded on the factory community." The manufacturer has become a Führer, and the workers are his faithful "following." This is the socialism of the National Socialists. It would not be very difficult to convert every capitalist in the world to such socialism.—LOUIS FISCHER, *April 4, 1934.*

FOR SOME ODD REASON, the activities of newspaper workers do not seem to constitute news of equal value with those, let us say, of newspaper publishers. Nevertheless, the American Newspaper Guild continues to grow with amazing speed.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, *April 4, 1934.*

THANKS TO THE INDISCRETIONS of Senator W. T. Thayer of the New York Legislature, it looks as if some of Governor Lehman's bills for the better control of public utilities might be enacted into law. Any legislator who opposes them will be in the unenviable position of having to explain to his constituents how much he got and from whom. . . . For years the legislative committees at Albany have been graveyards for measures intended to curb the rapacity of utility companies, and the fact that Mr. Thayer is a member—was until recently chairman—of the Senate Public Service Committee may be explanatory. It is a commentary on contemporary civilization that although the insignificant Thayer has been bombarded with questions and is threatened with impeachment, nobody has said boo to the Associated Gas and Electric Company. That it should be engaged in bribery and bilking the public seems to be regarded as normal procedure.—*April 11, 1934.*

THE PRESENT FRENCH internal situation is so much to the advantage of certain foreign powers that it would not be surprising if they had done something to foment the agitation.—ROBERT DELL, *April 18, 1934.*

IT IS GENERALLY CONCEDED that the swellest party of the year—indeed, the most handsomely mounted social event since the war—was the reception given by the Soviet Ambassador and his wife to the elect of Washington. . . . If there was a delegation from the American Communist Party, it must have come disguised in tails and white vests, because its presence was not remarked. . . . The Czar's monogram commanded one room, the bust of Lenin another, and in between, the representatives of the people—of two peoples, in fact—walked about in tails and had a good time. No bombs were thrown.—*April 25, 1934.*

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Yankee Dollars Fight Hill

BY EDGAR M. STEED

Montgomery, Ala.

THE Democratic primary to be held in Alabama on May 2 to nominate a candidate for the United States Senate might be expected to be simply a family contest between conservative Southerners, with little or nothing of importance at issue. Yet the campaign to unseat Senator Lister Hill, the Democratic whip, by defeating him in the primary—nomination being tantamount to election—is a complex affair involving Northern domination of Southern industry, the Farm Bureau's failure to represent small farmers, and the hope of racial cooperation in Alabama.

Senator Hill

The current view of the South as the home of reaction is based upon the fame of the Harry Byrds, Cotton Ed Smiths, and Lee O'Daniels—men who, outside the South, would be more comfortable as Republicans. It is not generally realized that these Democratic voices from the last century are opposed by other Democrats, such as Senators Lister Hill of Alabama and Claude Pepper of Florida, and Representatives Brooks Hays of Arkansas and Lyndon Johnson of Texas, whose records, in comparison with those of the total representation in Congress, classify them as liberals.

The junior Senator from Alabama is one of a dwindling number of members of Congress who have never apologized for the social advances of this country since 1933. Invited to address the Alabama Legislature in 1943 soon after Senator O'Daniel had spoken in the same chamber, Hill made a fighting speech in support of the original New Deal objectives and of the President. He is a long-time friend of the TVA, having worked closely with Senator Norris in bringing that old warrior's dream into existence. His latest service to the TVA was his leadership of a fight against the crippling proposals offered by Senator McKellar of Tennessee, who has long had a feud with TVA Director David Lilienthal. Supporting the aggressive program of the Rural Electrification Administration in Alabama, Hill earned the active enmity of the Alabama Power Company, a subsidiary of Commonwealth and Southern, and he has never asked for quarter. While he has not opposed the Alabama Farm Bureau, an organization dominated by the Alabama Extension Service and chiefly representative of the larger landowners, he refused to help destroy the Farm Security Administration, the small farmer's hope, and thereby offended certain powerful figures in the Extension Service.

These farm-organization politicians have been courted assiduously in recent years by the Birmingham industrialists grouped in the Associated Industries of Alabama, for the definite purpose of breaking the succession of liberal state leaders—Hugo Black, the the late Governor David Bibb Graves, and Senator Hill. It has been the industrialists' idea that if the long-existing antipathy of Alabama farmers to the money dominance of Birmingham could once be broken, the two groups together could hold down labor, reduce to subservience the educated group, a powerful political factor in the state, control the legislature, cut corporation taxes, and generally make Alabama an even more profitable field of investment for Northern capital.

Whether or not this desired union has actually been accomplished, the two groups got together to produce a candidate to run against Hill. Many Alabamans, knowing Hill's sound record, his Senate prominence, and his great popularity with education and labor groups and dirt farmers, doubted that he could be successfully opposed. But the heavy industries of Birmingham, dominated by the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company, a subsidiary of United States Steel, joined with the Roosevelt-hating Farm Bureau clique to put into the race state Senator James A. Simpson of Birmingham, a prominent corporation lawyer.

Simpson's interest in the office was nothing new, but he had hoped to run against some lesser man than Hill. His friends, however, insisted that he had a good chance in 1944, when they could back him with their war-swollen profits and appeal to popular resentment against war-time restrictions and petty privations.

Jim Simpson is a big, hard-working, likable fellow, just the sort of man that smart business executives hire as their legal representative. He is only a mediocre speaker, but there is a solid sincerity in his manner that wins friends. In the state Senate he made himself known

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as the advocate of a civil-service system and of other manifestations of "good government." He cannot compete with Senator Hill in personality, in record, or in state connections, and yet it must be admitted that he does have a chance. This chance is based on one ugly factor, as his backers well know.

In his opening speech on December 10 in Mobile Simpson gave a restrained forewarning of his campaign line by saying, "Alabama knows how to handle the racial problem and should be permitted to do so . . . just as New York and other states should have the right to take care of the problem in their own way." That was the start of an appeal to racial antagonisms that has developed more bitterness with each week of the campaign. By February 20 Simpson's big newspaper advertisements were shouting:

> Delicate racial relationships peculiar to the South are being disrupted by radical agitators who are seeking to use the war as a lever to overthrow our social structure and ram social equality down our Southern throats. . . . Mine will be a positive voice in the Senate that will stand guard, speak out, hold the line against troublemakers on the outside who seek to destroy our time-tested segregation principle and tear down established traditions.

Seeking by such implications to establish Hill as a supporter of the "radical agitators," the Simpson men with their plentiful expense money are riding the highways to get out the vote for their candidate.

In March the Greensboro *Watchman*, a weekly published by a former Socialist who now bases most of his editorials on the experiences of Reconstruction, put out a big "special edition" containing pictures of Mrs. Roosevelt among Negroes and a preview of what an Alabama schoolroom would look like if Lister Hill, as the editor feared, was able to introduce mixed education into the state. Copies of this paper and others like it are being thrown into every crossroads store.

It is a nice paradox, this exploitation of racial bigotry by Yankee absentee ownership to defeat a genuine Southerner who thinks in terms of the present. Hill was born forty-nine years ago in Montgomery, the son of Dr. L. L. Hill, a physician known throughout the South. Though he advocates racial cooperation and fair dealing, the record reveals no variation on his part from Southern belief in the wisdom of segregation. His opponents can impugn his position on the race question only by attacking his loyalty to Franklin D. Roosevelt and his refusal to countenance any defamation of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Thus far Hill has declined to accept the Negro as a real issue in the campaign, but in the face of so well-organized and vicious an effort to misrepresent his views, he probably will answer, and he may give ground. If he is forced to descend from the high level to which he has held thus far, the part played by investment dollars from the "enlightened North," seeking still tighter control over Alabama's natural resources, should be understood and remembered.

Five Against Pepper

BY ROYAL WILBUR FRANCE

Winter Park, Florida

PERHAPS the most crucial of the Southern Democratic primary campaigns is now being fought in Florida, where party members will go to the polls on May 2 to decide whether Claude Pepper, one of the few Southern liberals, shall have a third term in the United States Senate. They will also choose six Representatives, a Governor, and a host of lesser state officials, but the hottest fight centers around Pepper. In this fight the line between the forward-looking and the backward-looking is sharply drawn.

On the reactionary side, the League for Constitutional Government has placed five candidates in the field for the Senatorial nomination, believing that this will keep Pepper from getting a majority of the votes in the first primary and necessitate a run-off; all those who had voted for the four defeated candidates would then presumably unite behind Pepper's strongest opponent. Such strategy is a tribute to Pepper's strength and a real danger to his position. Pepper has charged that large sums of money have been sent into the state to defeat him.

Senator Pepper

Pepper's services to the industries of Florida have been considerable and are appreciated; at the same time, he is identified in the minds of reactionary business men with government controls and high taxes, for which of course they can see no need. They

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are obsessed with the idea that "bureaucracy" in Washington is the road to socialism, and they are throwing at Pepper all the clichés by which this idea is commonly expressed. A prominent member of the Democratic state committee has called him a Socialist—a word with sinister racial overtones down here. The Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case has strengthened the old fear of racial equality. The reactionaries are making poltical capital of the fact that Pepper once addressed a Negro meeting in Los Angeles and supported an anti-poll-tax bill in the Senate. They are distributing a picture taken at the Los Angeles meeting. Pepper has parried this line of attack by denouncing the Supreme Court decision and avowing his unequivocal belief in white supremacy—a move which was not only an act of political self-preservation but doubtless an expression of his own convictions.

In Florida the international situation is relatively unimportant as a political issue. Even the most conservative groups here have generally supported the war effort from the beginning. A week before Pearl Harbor the board of directors of the Florida National Bank in Miami, one of the state's largest financial institutions, adopted a resolution urging Congress to declare war on Japan.

Pepper's record as an outstanding interventionist and internationalist, therefore, has been all in his favor. But undoubtedly the strongest factor on his side is the solid backing of organized labor. Despite his one slip in voting for the Smith-Connally Act, the South has no Senator more friendly to labor than he, and the working people of the state know it. The opposition to him is well-heeled and voluble, but Pepper has great strength and is a good campaigner; the progressive elements in the state are confident he will win.

The outlook for Florida's representation in the lower house is not so promising. Perhaps the most interesting of the six contests is that in the Fifth Congressional District, between Joe (self-styled "Little Joe") Hendricks, incumbent, and J. Reynolds Duncan. Hendricks is a young small-town lawyer who rode into office on the wave of Townsendism that swept this state in the early thirties. In that first campaign he showed himself willing to make promises which an intelligent man would have known could not be fulfilled and which a scrupulous man would have avoided. In the early days of the New Deal he followed the lead of the President because that was obviously the line of least resistance, but when the more backward Democrats of the South began to make common cause with the Republicans of the North he found it easier and more congenial to string along with them. More and more regularly he voted with the Republicans, or, when crucial measures were at stake, absented himself. He is a supporter of Martin Dies and exhibits all the attributes of the Texas mountebank except his showmanship.

Against Hendricks the Independent Democratic League, whose purpose is to improve the quality of the state's political representation, is backing J. Reynolds Duncan, a young man connected with the Florida Industrial Commission. Unfortunately he lacks political experience. The league had its origin last December in a meeting of a small group of college professors, labor leaders, social workers, ministers, and others, in Orange County, the heart of Florida. They were aware of the danger of political regression throughout the country, and they took steps to do something about it in their own territory. Their immediate objectives were to help Pepper and to get a progressive candidate to run against "Little Joe" Hendricks. In the six months since its organization the league's membership and its work have become state wide.

The progressive forces have encountered many difficulties. Florida is not an industrial state, and the C. I. O. unions here are largely confined to the citrus industry. Thus many of their members are Negroes, who cannot vote in the primaries. The A. F. of L. has a large membership in the building trades and other fields, but its leadership has shown little interest in politics. The Independent Democratic League planned to create a grass-roots organization in every election district, but soon discovered that it had neither the funds nor the political experience that the task required. The C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., the only constituent groups with mass backing, were prevented from providing funds by the Smith-Connally Act.

This month the Independent Democratic League was reorganized and renamed the Florida Voters' League, pledged "to promote the general welfare by furnishing information on candidates and measures." Its political creed is stated in four points:

1. That our nation and state must bend their energies, without reservation, to the winning of the war;
2. That the peace must be won by definite planning for it now, internationally, and also by immediate attention to the home front by nation and state. There must be no stampeding back to "normalcy," as in 1920, with the suffering which that reaction brought upon demobilized men and discharged war workers;
3. That government should be used, whenever general welfare demands, to the extent that private enterprise is unable or unwilling to act or to act adequately;
4. That every public officer should be competent to deal with the problems he must face; he should represent all the people, not any group, groups, or special interests.

The league will undoubtedly have some influence in the present primaries. Even if up to now it has failed to create a widespread popular movement, its efforts have not been wasted. It has learned that the fight is not for one campaign but for the long future.

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Montgomery Ward's Private War

BY SHIRLEY KATZANDER

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has acted with decision to end the deadlock between Montgomery Ward and the War Labor Board, which involved the strike of more than 4,000 workers in Chicago. Local 20 of the Mail Order, Warehouse, and Retail Employees' Union (C. I. O.) struck when the company refused to comply with a WLB directive requiring it to extend its contact with the union. On April 24, in a telegram addressed to the company and the union, the President demanded the end of the strike and called on Ward's to comply immediately with the WLB directive.

Presiding over the vast mail-order empire is Sewell L. Avery, chairman of the board, who twice before has refused to comply with WLB rulings; recently he sought a permanent injunction against such rulings, on the ground that Ward's is a non-essential industry and therefore not within the jurisdiction of the WLB.

The fight between the company and the union is now four years old. Local 20 of the mail-order workers began organization proceedings in 1940. In February, 1942, the National Labor Relations Board certified the local as bargaining agent for Ward's employees, and the WLB directed the company to sign a contract. Ward's agreed to the pay increases ordered by the WLB but balked at inclusion of a maintenance-of-membership clause in the contract. Avery said he would sign only if the President expressly ordered it. The WLB then handed the issue to the President, and he ordered Ward's to sign. Avery stalled again. He took full-page advertisements in newspapers throughout the country—later reported at a stockholders' meeting to have cost $400,000—informing the public that he was "under duress" and that he wanted this paragraph inserted in the contract:

> The following paragraphs are not voluntarily agreed to by the company. In the company's opinion they are illegal and unsound. These provisions are copied verbatim from the War Labor Board's order of November 5, 1942, and are incorporated herein, on the company's part, under duress and only because the President of the United States as commander-in-chief in time of war has expressly ordered that they be included.

The union refused to sign a contract including that paragraph, and the labor, industry, and public members of the WLB denounced Avery's action. Dean Wayne L. Morse of the Oregon University Law School, member for the public, called the advertising campaign a "subterfuge." "I simply wish to say that I don't like welching or welchers," he said, "and I consider the present position of Montgomery Ward a pure case of welching on an agreement which they entered into with the President of the United States." Roger Lapham, president of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Lines and member of the WLB for industry, said, "Ward's has freedom of speech and the industry members of the board also have freedom of speech, and they intend to use it to tell the truth—and not a damn bunch of half-truths."

The case was again referred to the President, and he again ordered Ward's to sign the contract—without the "duress" paragraph. Avery signed. That was eleven months after the union was certified as bargaining agent.

In the year that followed, the union asked dismissal of only one man, charging him with violation of the union's constitution. Denying the violation, Ward's refused to dismiss him until a few days before the case came to arbitration. Then it fired him for "incompetence." Monsignor Reynold Hillenbrand, who acted as arbiter, found in favor of the union, stating that Ward's, in refusing to dismiss the man, had violated the contract.

In November, 1943, about a month before the first contract expired, Montgomery Ward filed suit for libel against the local's militant shop paper *Spotlight,* and against officials of the local and the international, seeking damages of $1,000,000 and an injunction against publication of the paper. This last aroused the ire of newspapermen, who feared the precedent of such an injunction. The case is still under consideration.

Shortly after the libel suit was filed, the company informed the union that it did not intend to negotiate a contract for the two major departments in Chicago because it did not believe the union had a majority there. The union says that it organized the plant two and a half times over in 1943, that with 4,000 workers eligible for membership it collected 10,000 membership cards during the year. Organization was clearly keeping pace with turnover. Ward's ignored the union's figures, and in January, 1944, the company and the local again appeared before the WLB. This time the WLB ordered another NLRB election and directed Ward's to extend the contract pending the decision. Ward's refused to extend the contract. On April 12 the union struck.

The local charges that between the expiration of the contract and the start of the strike the company went on an anti-union spree, discharging and demoting active union members. On March 29 the WLB held a compliance hearing. The union charged that the company had refused to comply with the WLB directive, and the com-

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pany charged that the union had not proved a majority. On April 17 Ward's charged that the WLB had "illegally ordered" the company to extend an expired contract, and said that it "stands ready to recognize the union when proof of its representation has been presented."

On April 24, in his telegram replying to the President, Samuel Wolchok, national head of the union, said that the workers would return to their jobs. He charged the company with provoking the strike "by its arrogant refusal to comply with the directive of the WLB and its consistent acts in brazen disregard of the most elementary rights of American workers."

Ward's handling of its labor relations seems to have set a pattern for other firms in the Chicago area. In March the Pullman-Standard Car Manufacturing Company defied a WLB order to include a maintenance-of-membership clause in its contract with Local 2928 of the United Steel Workers of America (C. I. O.), and it has since filed a libel suit for $1,000,000 against the local union paper, *Keel*. In February the Chicago Transformer Company appeared before the WLB to demand another NLRB election, charging that the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers' Union had no majority in its plant. In March the Mills Novelty Company, Chicago, demanded the same thing in regard to the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (C. I. O.). The United States Gypsum Company, of which Avery is a director, defied the WLB's ruling that a maintenance-of-membership clause be in the company's contract with the union.

Sewell Avery is known among business men as the Tom Girdler of the Midwest. He is tough, and he is determined to spare no expense to establish his position. In addition to the $1,000,000 libel suit against *Spotlight* he has brought a damage suit for almost $5,000,000 against the Santa Fe, the Southern Pacific, and the Western Pacific railroads, the Railway Express Company, and a long list of motor-truck operators, for their refusal to handle merchandise during a strike by the A. F. of L. Retail Clerks, Teamsters, and Warehousemen. He has also filed suit against the printing-trades union for failure to print Ward's catalogue during a work stoppage. He even filed suit for $1,000,000 against the magazine *Business Week* for its description of Bishop Haas's efforts to settle the dispute between Ward's and Local 20. This suit was dismissed by the judge as "absurd, simply absurd."

As an executive of Ward's, Avery has a good dollars-and-cents record. When the company appeared to be going under in the early 1930's Avery took over as manager at a salary of $100,000 a year and with an option to buy 100,000 shares of common stock at $11 a share. That stock today is worth more than $4,000,000, and last December Avery exercised his option to the extent of 50,000 shares. In addition to being chairman of Montgomery Ward's and a director of United States Gypsum, he sits on the boards of Armour, United States Steel, Pullman-Standard, the People's Light, Gas, and Coke Company, the Northern Trust Company, and the Pure Oil Company.

Sewell Avery apparently feels it incumbent upon him to maintain "free enterprise" and keep the "pioneer spirit" alive by his own efforts. He is reported once to have said of his caddy, "I fired him. He bothered me forever wanting to carry the clubs."

In the Wind

THE BRITISH MINISTRY OF INFORMATON, like the OWI, is considered fair game by wisecrackers. They are now saying in London that its motto is, "Give us a straw and we'll drop the bricks." . . . And the Ministry of Reconstruction, it is alleged, has as its theme song, "We're dreaming of a White Paper."

BUSINESS ACTION, the weekly bulletin of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, offers this cheery note: "Annual Meeting Postponed as Contribution to Victory."

THE BRITISH PIANOFORTE Manufacturers' Association is preparing for a boom after the war.

IT SEEMS THAT AXIS AGENTS in South Africa have been spreading a rumor that the United States plans to take over South Africa through Lend-Lease operations. The South African *Forum* asked Herbert Hoover to comment on it. This is what he said :"It seems to me almost childish to reply to the charge. . . . Lend-Lease comes out of the pockets of the American taxpayer, and the less we lend the better we like it."

FROM A NEWS STORY in the London *Evening Standard*: "One of the eight men under the spotlight was asked: 'Why are you a Tory?' He replied: 'Because I hate class distinctions.' That is the spirit of the new Tory democracy."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazi Department of Price Administration in western Poland has decreed that certain Germans may obtain rent reductions "as indemnity for living in a Polish neighborhood." . . . A former tuberculosis sanatorium in Czechoslovakia has been converted into a school where German boys fifteen to eighteen years old are trained in street fighting. . . . Dutch-Nazi mayors of several municipalities in northeastern Holland have been ordered to prepare lists of houses from which the Dutch occupants will be evicted to make room for Germans from bombed-out cities in the Reich. . . . A man released from a Nazi prison camp in Holland greeted his friends thus: "At last I feel like a good Dutchman, for I have been in jail." . . . A pamphlet of nearly 100 pages entitled "How to Grow Parsley" has had tremendous sales in Poland. It contains speeches by Roosevelt, Churchill, Sikorski, and others. This can be revealed now because the Nazis have already discovered it.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

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Restaurant in Algiers

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Algiers, April 2

ALGIERS is a poor symbol of the France that did not give up. London, blitzed and beleaguered, was far more akin to the spirit of the Fighting French when it served as their headquarters. Yet Algiers, though soft and complacent, is still a French city, the greatest outside continental France, and thus the only possible seat of the Committee of National Liberation. But if Algiers is the capital of France at war, it is not France, and good note should be taken of the difference. Its strangely mixed population has an ungenuine, an unheroic quality that repels the visitor. Over the years, thanks to a generous hinterland, the city has grown fat and rich. And the people, unlike the population of metropolitan France, have not been hardened in the crucible of Nazi occupation. They easily accepted the regime of dishonor and now are on the whole reluctant to follow General de Gaulle in the path of sacrifice. Algiers would like to remain as it was—safe for the vested interests of its "fifty families."

The slightly equivocal attitude of the city became particularly evident during the trial of Pucheu. Opinion in French circles was divided; it was not really very *bon ton* to be in favor of the death sentence. Dinner-table conversation turned on the excellence of Pucheu's defense, the exceptional qualities of the man himself—intelligence is a quality which never leaves the French indifferent—the international aspects of the case, which made the trial impolitic at the present time; after all Pucheu was a minister in a legal government recognized by our ally, the United States. I recall that on the last day of the trial I lunched with five Frenchmen of whom three were against and two for the death penalty. This division was perhaps a fair sample. The De Gaullists, of course, particularly the Fighting French troops—as opposed to the North Africans—looked upon Pucheu simply as a traitor who, without a particle of doubt, should suffer a traitor's death.

The trial revealed a man of rare ability who had calculated his own interests too cleverly. He had taken all precautions. He had had his anchor to windward. He had, "in the interests of France," played a double game with the Germans, and when the direction of the wind changed, he had set his course accordingly: he had come to North Africa early, under the high patronage of General Giraud himself. The career of Pucheu appeared as a masterpiece of calculation; the verdict proved that it was too perfect.

In this French city the volunteers of General de Gaulle's heroic little army almost seem to be foreigners. What, indeed, has a young major in the First Fighting French Division who has already commanded his men in three campaigns got in common with Giraud's elderly officers who have comfortably sat out the war in North Africa? The young men who went through the Ethiopian, Eritrean, Syrian, and Libyan campaigns, or who crossed the burning sands of the Sahara in the *Colonne Leclerc*, fought not because the manual of regulations obliged them to but simply because they wanted to rid their country of the *Boches*. The members of one Fighting French brigade have refused to wear any decorations until they are permitted to place the "Syria pin" on their Colonial Medal. This gesture reveals their attitude: the Syrian campaign was fought against the troops of Vichy.

In Algiers, in short, one has to look for the spirit of French resistance in order to find it, but it is there. Many individuals in the civilian population, as in the Committee of National Liberation, the Consultative Assembly, and the army, feel intensely their identity with the resistance movement within France. Perhaps it is the Consultative Assembly, with its thirty-four representatives of the underground, some of them newly arrived from France, which most faithfully reflects the temper of the French people. In the Assembly Hall, covered with the symbols of the Republic, in the lobbies, and in the committee rooms the national will, in so far as circumstances permit, is given expression and a legal existence.

To get an intimate view of the Consultative Assembly, one must dine at the Brasserie Suisse. This modest establishment—on Liberty Street!—is the official restaurant of the delegates, the counterpart if you will of the old Buvette de la Chambre in Paris. The little sign on the door is non-committal; it reads: "Requisitioned. French Club. Private." Inside, the potted palms, the harassed waitresses, the crowded tables are ordinary enough. But the guests—the elderly White Friar, the bewhiskered jurist, the majestic turbaned Negro, the unimposing man with the green ribbon of the Compagnons de la Libération in his buttonhole, the prosperous-looking general—these are not the clients of just any restaurant. The White Friar, indeed, is R. P. Carrière, delegate

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of the French colony in Egypt; the jurist is René Cassin, former Commissioner of Justice and professor at the Sorbonne; the magnificent black is Ely Manel Fall, delegate from Senegal; the man with the ribbon is M. ——, hero of the underground; the well-fed general is General Chadebec de Lavalade, connoisseur of Portuguese literature, author of a book entitled "Pétain?" and one of the judges of Pucheu. At every table are men sent to Algiers from resistance groups all over the empire.

As a guest of one of the delegates, I dined several times at the Brasserie Suisse. My host willingly pointed out a few of his more interesting colleagues and told me something of their stories, omitting names and details that might be dangerous to persons still in France.

"That man," he said of a middle-aged man at a nearby table, "was an employee in a little city in the center of France. He is neither athletic nor bellicose. Yet for months he moved about the country under false names, seeking out his old friends, bringing them together, grouping them locally, then by departments, reconstituting the party to which he had belonged within the framework of the resistance movement, distributing pamphlets and clandestine newspapers. This political activity, however, was not all. He began to collect military information that might be useful to the Allies. Soon he became a specialist in collecting information, acquired confederates to help him, got in touch with other similar organizations—in short, created a smoothly functioning intelligence network. He is a little ashamed of never having been arrested.

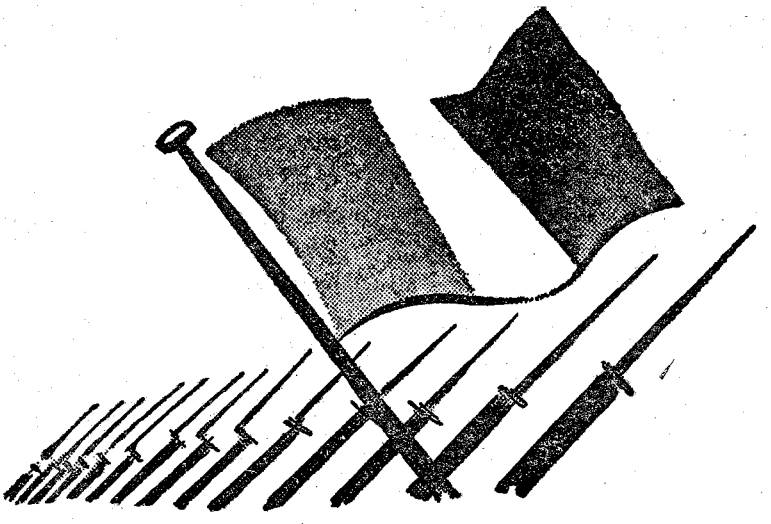
"That younger man was a lawyer. He began the war as a captain and after the armistice determined to continue the struggle in the underground. He joined a resistance group and participated in a few sensational *coups de main*. One day he was caught, under a false name, by the Vichy police. At the same moment both Vichy and the Gestapo were searching for him under two other false names for serious affairs. He was done for if the Vichy judge discovered all his identities; so his friends decided to rescue him. This was not easy. Every day he was taken to the courthouse in a police wagon. The hearing dragged out. Soon the gasoline shortage made it impossible to transport the prisoners in the police wagon, and the judge ordered them brought to court on foot, handcuffed, each between two gendarmes. This provided the long-awaited opportunity. It was no difficult job for the organization to get hold of several gendarme uniforms and to find men with sufficient pluck to play the part. One morning our friend was summoned a little earlier than usual to the registry and led off by three phlegmatic gendarmes who had firmly clamped handcuffs on him. The rest can be imagined—a waiting car, a rapid change of clothes, then another car, prearranged hiding places, finally arrival in England.

"The bearded schoolmaster over there with the archaic collar had never stirred from his library and his classroom. One day, however, he realized that his respectable white beard might be put to use. He bought a goat and after school hours led his goat out to graze—usually on the good grass bordering the airfield. No one paid any attention to the eccentric old gentleman with his browsing goat. But he saw many things, took note of them, and finished by being sent, a little bewildered by it all, to Algiers as a delegate of the underground.

"Beyond him is a man who represents one of our distant colonies. In August, 1940, he attempted to rally the colony to De Gaulle but failed. Arrested by Vichy, he was flown three thousand miles to France, where a military court condemned him to hard labor for life. He escaped—I cannot tell you how—but remained in the country, where, although hunted by the police, he carried out important missions for De Gaulle. The Vichy net closed in; he was forced to flee France.

"At the next table you see an old political militant. When the armistice was concluded he at once undertook three tasks—the rebuilding of his scattered party, the organization of an underground railroad to bring men to England, the gathering of information. His efforts saved hundreds of Englishmen, but he was finally smoked out of the Channel region and forced to transfer his activities to the Swiss border.

"That very young man in the corner has just arrived from France, sent by the underground to replace one of their delegates who became a minister. Three weeks ago he was still living the heroic life of the *maquis*. He brought with him a moving-picture film taken in the *maquis*. With what emotion we looked upon these recent pictures of our native land! Our hearts beat fast to see men standing at attention in a forest clearing before the colors and the Lorraine cross, to see others



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training in the use of mechanized arms, and still others maneuvering in mountain snow. The film bore this dedication, *'A l'invaincu, les vaincus qui vaincront. . . .'"*

Here, in this little restaurant, were the men who speak for France, that France which, though vanquished, is invincible.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

WITHOUT any doubt the food situation in Germany is becoming decidedly unpleasant. Among the contributing causes one of the most important is of course the loss of the Russian agricultural regions. But other factors are also operating. In spite of all the foreign workers, there is a great shortage of farm labor. The fertilizer supplied to farmers has been reduced to a fraction of the normal amount. All means of transportation are so overburdened that foodstuffs cannot be properly distributed. The importation of vegetables and fruit from Italy has almost stopped. Then in 1943, added to these constant and progressive causes, came the appalling failure of the potato and vegetable crops.

The severity of the crisis is well illustrated by two small changes in the rationing system. Although all kinds of food, without exception, are rationed, and even in restaurants guests must give points for every dish, the Nazi authorities have tried to leave a few small loopholes for the individual consumer. Anyone who raised rabbits, for example, was allowed to buy some food for them, and to eat them, without giving up any points. In consequence, even in the big cities people kept rabbits in every court and on every balcony. Now, however, the supply of fodder has been cut off, and a decree issued April 3 forbids private rabbit raising and orders the slaughter of all the rabbits in the country.

A second loophole was provided by the *Stammgericht* served in restaurants, which can be translated roughly as "basic dish." Up to now every restaurant has received the material for and been allowed to sell one dish each day for which no points were required. As a rule this was a watery mixture of potatoes and vegetables, containing no fat or meat, and it was usually all sold in half an hour. But meager as it was, it was one way of getting more to eat than rationing permitted. If you were clever you ate the *Stammgericht* in one restaurant and then went to another for a regular meal on points. Now the stringent food situation is putting an end to this practice. The new regulations vary in different places, but everywhere the *Stammgericht* is being curtailed or discontinued. In many cities it has been absolutely forbidden. In others it may be served only to a worker doing "heavy" labor and possessing a special certificate to that effect, which must be punched after he has eaten. The city of Cologne charges restaurant keepers with the duty of judging whether a guest "may reasonably be expected to have his own household and to eat at home," and directs them to refuse the *Stammgericht* to customers who seem to have other resources.

Every time the German people have yielded to a particularly gloomy mood, Nazi propaganda has tried to raise their spirits by a strong dose of anti-Semitism. At the moment the newspapers are again printing a large percentage of articles unmasking the crimes of the Jews from Adam on. And various lecturers, preferably so-called scholars or scientists with the title of professor, are traveling around the country discoursing on the theme that "the wars of all times have been caused exclusively by the Jews." The Jew has even been mobilized in the hopeless struggle to keep people from listening to the enemy radio. "Flüster Cohn" (Whispering Cohn) is now the official name for the British radio. Newspaper cartoons and gigantic posters on the advertising pillars depict him as a horrifying apparition and warn people to keep clear of him.

But if for no other reason, the anti-Semitic theme has become stale and uninteresting because there are no Jews left in Germany. The last one was shipped off to Poland long ago; and how can passions be inflamed against an abstraction, a foe no longer present? To make up, apparently, for this lack, *Mischlinge* (persons of mixed Jewish and Christian blood) are now made the object of attack. Previously they had been left relatively undisturbed, and as there are many hundreds of thousands of them, their situation, in a time of intense manpower scarcity, seemed fairly safe. Recently, however, a vigorous propaganda campaign against the pestilential *Judenbastarde* (Jewish bastards) who befoul German soil was started by the press and radio. Official measures have also been taken against them, according to a detailed report in the *Svenska Dagbladet* for March 30.

"In principle," says an order of the Nazi Office of Racial Policy as quoted by this paper, "*Mischlinge* must now be treated as Jews." For example, those of military age will be taken out of the army and put in labor battalions, where they will not wear the army uniform. According to the official in charge of deportations, "these formations will be sent to Poland." *Mischlinge* whose dwellings have been destroyed by the bombardments may not move back into them after repairs have been made. The form sheets on which bombed-out persons apply for permission to buy clothing, linen, and household articles now include the question: Are you a *Mischling?* Questionnaires have been sent to all employers asking how many *Mischlinge* they employ and how soon they can replace them with "Aryans." "Strong opposition" to this new policy, the Swedish paper says, "is being shown in Germany."

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Holmes—a Family Portrait

YANKEE FROM OLYMPUS: JUSTICE HOLMES AND HIS FAMILY. By Catherine Drinker Bowen. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

SO MANY books have been written about Mr. Justice Holmes that the first question about a new one is what is new about it. Mrs. Bowen answers by saying: "This book is a picture and a translation, an attempt to bring Justice Holmes out of legal terms into human terms." This she has achieved, and superbly, while also giving enough of the legal to make clear its essential core. What Holmes left in judicial opinions and in his other writing was so much the fruit of his distinctly personal thinking that the legal was but an expression of the human. The legal does not need detailed elaboration to round out the picture. Mrs. Bowen gives enough to make its central ranges stand out in clear relief.

The other novelty is that this is not a study of Holmes alone. The first quarter is concerned with Grandfather Abiel, the Calvinist minister who lost his charge when Unitarianism rocked Cambridge, and with Dr. Holmes, the far from Calvinist physician and teacher and the ready writer. In these and later pages there is much about family and cousinly relationships, about Harvard and Cambridge and Boston, with enough of the currents of thought and emotion and action in the American hinterland to make the region around the Charles seem part of a larger whole. At least the United States becomes a part of Boston. Mrs. Bowen is not always kind to the pressures and resistances of either. She is adept at subtle or pointed shafts at Mammon. One sample must suffice, though there are many and the range is wide. When writing of Jefferson's embargo she remarks: "Touch a Massachusetts man in his pocket and the thrust went through to the heart and was immediately defended in terms of great principles."

The delving into genealogical roots is welcome for its own sake, both as biography and as social history. Yet one fails to see the influence of ancestors from the patrilineal side unless the effect was one of aversion and rejection. Not enough is given of the distaff lines to know whether we should there find persisting strains passed on. Mrs. Bowen essays little or no explicit tracing. Uncle John, the Doctor's brother, was an individualist who of all the family seemed to have some traits most congenial to his nephew, different as they were in practicing the gospel of effort. He was a blunt engaging figure, gifted at being himself. One of his ministrations was to bring forcibly to nephew Wendell's consciousness the realization that he had long been in love with Fanny Dixwell and the intimation that he had long been equally unmindful of her feeling for him. As a whole the book can hardly be regarded as an exercise in psychological genetics unless to bring out that the biologists have to recognize "sports" as all classifiers need the category of miscellaneous.

One way in which Mrs. Bowen makes Holmes and her other figures human is by assuming the role of the novelist. At first this brings something of a shock. How does she know that Abiel's quill had "gone dry above his paper with thinking," that he took "three steps in a highly unministerial bound" and "felt his heart pound pleasantly in his breast"? How does she know that "Oliver heard from far off the rumble of waves on beaches ten miles to the eastward," or that at a later time he "felt the hackles rise on the back of his neck"? There is a good bit of venturing beyond the record all the way through. Yet from such resort to the device of fiction comes much of the compelling power of the book. Amazingly the privacies of solitary feeling and of confidential exchange that could never be footnoted seem all in character, and of course for many there was enough of oral tradition to let us say in the phrase of Renan that the thoughts were in their hearts if not on their lips. Much that might offend the canons set by what calls itself scientific scholarship is a triumph of art in telling essential inner truth.

Less than a sixth of the book is given to the crowning years in Washington, though without these Holmes would have left but a tithe of his legacy to posterity, generous as is such lesser moiety with its wealth of insight into the long course of the common law. There is no evidence that Holmes was a greatly interested follower of judicial and other doings in Washington while he was sitting on the Supreme Judicial Court in Massachusetts, though he had lectured on constitutional law at Harvard. To much if not most of what went on outside his own pursuits he was oblivious. Newspapers and politics were of slight if any concern. He was a man of books and ideas. Brandeis told Mrs. Bowen that Holmes's remoteness from political life, far from making his horizon narrower, had somehow given him a broader vision. The genial Taft who wrote peevish letters to his children when colleagues disagreed with him complained that Holmes had no conception of statesmanship. Yet the Holmes who slighted the newspapers, who was not concerned with politics, who was a book man and an internal thinking man has proved himself in the long run to be a far greater judicial statesman than the critic who had the chance to profit from long experience in public affairs.

Holmes is such a fascinating and dominating figure that reviewers are inevitably tempted to write about him instead of about a book about him. The allotted space is all too short to write half enough about either here. When one says that the book is worthy of the subject, this should start a trek to the bookstalls. There are words echoed from Civil War bivouacs that may not yet be heard in Boston drawing-rooms, but it is not anticipated that the book will be banned even in Boston. If the Autocrat survived as a giant, there might be regrets that the Captain for whom he searched in Maryland and in the pages of the *Atlantic* did not find him such. There is a poignant contrast between the literary Doctor's light volubility and the quiet inner vividness of the unique discerning lady who, as Holmes wrote Pollock after her death, for over

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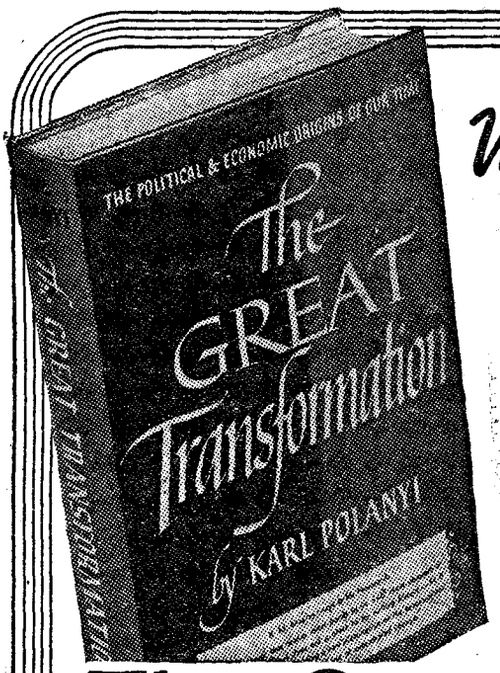

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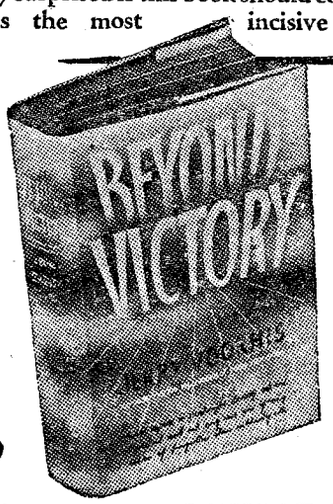

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fifty years had made life poetry for him. It is good to have her remembered here. Of her wisdom and her raciness still more deserves to be told.

Mrs. Bowen translates all her characters into human terms. She touches on intimacies with a delicacy that makes it fitting for the world to share them. She tells of occasions of tenderness that move to tears. Holmes had deeps of sentiment, though he wore them far from his sleeve. Above all he was stalwart. He often spoke of life as a struggle, and so it was for him, though far from the market-place. He was a soldier from a sense of duty, not from an instinct for fighting. In the drab days at the bar only his self-chosen study and writing captured absorbing devotion. Independence of household living was long postponed. Recognition came late. He knew loneliness of spirit. With all his powers and talents and with all his firm convictions, he was humbly eager in pursuing the paths of thinking that others had traced. His nature was not a simple one, and Mrs. Bowen has not sought to make it such. She has translated him into human terms as she set out to do, if translation is the word for her achievement. At any rate she has the gift of the good translator in fidelity to the original when gloss would only mar.

THOMAS REED POWELL

Pierre Cot Answers the Vichy Thesis

TRIUMPH OF TREASON. By Pierre Cot. Ziff-Davis Publishing Company. $3.50.

THE abortive Riom trial was one of the decisive episodes in the great drama of our times. It disposed of two great issues by the simple fact that it shrank from them. The first was Hitler's thesis: the war had been forced upon innocent Germany by the Judeo-Bolshevist coalition in control of the French government. The second was that the crushing defeat of 1940 was due to the criminal incompetence of leftist politicians.

Hitler's preposterous contention was immediately ignored. Scapegoats had to be found, not for the folly of starting the war, but for the crime of losing it. We must not forget, however, that Hitler's thesis is the foundation of the Flandin-Laval policy of repentant cooperation. Dismissing it meant rejecting the French Quisling, that Pierre Laval of whom Marshal Pétain said, "He and I are one."

The second issue was debated at length: who was responsible for the military débâcle? In the course of the trial the answer, incomplete, complex, and confused in details, became irresistibly clear; so the case—far too late for the Vichy men—was suspended *sine die.*

The Vichy thesis was: The glorious and patriotic French army was starved, disorganized, and demoralized by the partisanship and corruption of the *Front Populaire.* With no regard for the country's pressing needs, the reds indulged in a carnival of demagogic reforms—forty-hour week, paid vacations, organized leisure, socialization of war industries. The men who performed the miracles of Verdun and Warsaw could not repair at the last moment the harm done for several years by the rabble rousers. The collapse of 1940 was the ineluctable consequence of the leftist victory in

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1936. Among these criminals Blum stands out in sinister eminence; but Pierre Cot, Minister of Aviation in the Popular Front Cabinet, was even more virulently denounced. If there were no French planes to beat off the German swarms, the all-sufficient explanation is found in two short words—Pierre Cot.

Cot properly declined to submit himself to the Riom judges, an exceptional tribunal offering no guaranty of freedom or fairness. He presents his case in this very substantial volume. The case is irrefutable; but it is not the defense of one man that matters, and Cot knows it. There is no egotism in those four hundred compact pages. Cot is defending French democracy—world democracy—against an audacious perversion of the truth.

The issue is of commanding importance to us in America. Innumerable well-meaning citizens, violently opposed to Nazism, still accept the Vichy thesis. Refugee literature has rather deepened the confusion: by insisting on personal scandals, it has confirmed the impression that the Third Republic was rotten to the core, "and the more republican the more rotten." We cannot quite cure ourselves of the delusion that Vichy represents a belated rebellion of the "sound" elements in old France. Hence the persistent anti-Gaullism of our foreign policy. When it comes to French affairs, official Washington professes the purest Hooverian orthodoxy: a New Deal, a Popular Front, inevitably means waste, muddle, corruption, and chaos.

Cot's plea is restrained, and irrefutably supported with facts. He writes well, but the book is too heavily documented to be easy reading. Journalists will barely glance at it, but historians cannot afford to ignore it; and I believe that Cot could confidently adopt the title of Blum's book, "L'Histoire jugera."

His own title, "Triumph of Treason," goes a little beyond what he has set himself to prove. In his counter-offensive he establishes the fossil character of the army which, for two decades, had been prepared by Pétain and Weygand. He also shows the political bias of the Pétain clique, its hatred of democracy, its admiration for Mussolini and Franco. But he does not charge downright treason in the legal sense of the term. Cot made me realize that Guedalla was pretty close to the truth when he bracketed together Bazaine and Pétain. The surrender of Metz was a trifling affair compared with the wholesale, almost eager capitulation of 1940. But neither marshal was sold to the enemy in terms of pelf. In both cases incompetence, sluggishness, timidity, defeatism were to blame. Pétain will be remembered as the man who said, "They shall not pass!" and rushed to open the gate.

Cot has fully rehabilitated himself and his associates in the *Front Populaire* in the eyes of careful students not blinded by anti-democratic prejudices. The brief conclusion is extremely interesting but far more controversial. I cannot agree with Cot's Jacobin doctrine, "the dictatorship of the majority," for it leads to the single-party system. The misgivings he expresses about Algiers are already dated. It is appropriate that Cot, the great advocate of a close military alliance of France, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviets, should have been sent on a mission to Moscow by the Committee of National Liberation.

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The Prospects for Food

FOOD "CRISIS." By Roy F. Hendrickson. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

FOOD. By Frank A. Pearson and Don Paarlberg. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

THE early panic over the possibility of a "famine" in the United States has largely subsided, and most Americans once more take it for granted that they will be able to eat as usual for the duration. Mr. Hendrickson, director of the United States Food Distribution Administration, suggests, however, that our present complacency is perhaps as unjustified and dangerous as the extreme statements of a year ago when the "food crisis" was first discovered.

Our present favorable food situation is due to two factors: (1) a continuation of favorable crop weather in 1943 after several previous years of unusually good growing conditions; (2) an unusual supply of meat due to light slaughtering last year and exceptionally heavy slaughtering this year following the depletion of feed reserves. This situation is likely to be short-lived. The demand for food is bound to grow as further areas are liberated from Axis rule, while the chances are against the continuation of above-average crop weather. As a consequence, the American people must make some changes in their food habits if they are to be as well nourished as they were in peace time.

On this general diagnosis Mr. Hendrickson, speaking for the administration, agrees with Messrs. Pearson and Paarlberg, who are highly critical. Mr. Hendrickson emphasizes the need for making greater use of potatoes, cereals, peas, and beans, and relying less on meat—which is a relatively uneconomic food. Fruit and vegetable consumption should remain at about the pre-war level. While the total amount of food, measured in pounds, will probably not decrease, there will doubtless continue to be, as a result of rationing, a leveling-off in food consumption. Pearson and Paarlberg also advocate less reliance on meat, and point out that it is far more efficient to eat cereals as such than to use them as feed. It is possible, through the enrichment of bread and flour and possibly other products, for the average person to obtain as nutritious a diet as in the days of food surpluses.

But all of this rests on the assumption that the American people will make an intelligent adjustment in their diet. The American housewife must learn such simple things as how to conserve vitamins through proper cooking methods, how to cut down waste of all kinds, and how to make use of such foods as skimmed milk, soy beans, lentils, and whole-grain breakfast cereals. And farmers must be encouraged to adjust their production to these more nutritious and economical foods.

Mr. Hendrickson shows us how Great Britain and Germany have dealt with their far more acute problems without undermining the health of the British and German peoples. He also takes up in some detail the difficulties we face in the readjustment of agriculture in the post-war period. Chief among these is the question of government price support for farm products. While approving in principle the suggestion that "parity" prices be scrapped in favor of a program of "necessity" prices—the amount of guaranteed return to the farmer to be determined by the amount needed to induce adequate production rather than by some past price relationship—Mr. Hendrickson is frankly pessimistic about the possibility of developing such a program free from political or bureaucratic obstacles.

Pearson and Paarlberg, on the other hand, are extremely critical of managed prices of any kind. They insist that we do not yet possess the wisdom to administer a controlled economy on the scale that we have undertaken and that we should abandon the effort, letting prices serve as the regulator of food production and distribution in war time as well as in normal times. It is easy, of course, to point out the weaknesses and difficulties inherent in war-time controls. It is easy, also, to say that the problems are too big for any administrative agency to handle. But the blunt fact is that, despite errors, the controls have worked more successfully than anyone would have thought possible a year or two ago—and they have worked despite the failure of Congress to provide adequate funds for enforcement or subsidies and despite its flagrant neglect in the sphere of taxation. Doubtless Pearson and Paarlberg were sincerely troubled when they wrote their impassioned indictment of the Administration's food policies six months ago, but many sections of the book make odd reading today in view of the unquestioned success of the 1943 program. The prospects may not be so good for 1944, but a comparison between the farm situation today under strict government control and that of 1918, when prices represented the chief controlling factor, should enhance our faith in man-made controls.

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Poetry in Review

DUNSTAN THOMPSON'S "Poems" (Simon and Schuster, $2) contain some very bad poetry, but what is important is that even at his worst Mr. Thompson writes poetry: "Not you nor I are drawn by dawn, who sight/The bright before the morning moon of sorrow." That is more than can be said of the best efforts of most of the other poets I have read recently. Moreover, this is Thompson's first book. It shows him to be so immersed in English poetry of all periods that on several occasions he must have barely escaped drowning, or at any rate dissolving himself poetically. The plunge was all to the good, however, for he has learned how to use the poetry of the past to express his own feelings. He has learned how to make poetic technique serve as the "confining form"—to use Coleridge's term—within which he can convey the turbulence of his active experience.

Although his judgment is at times deficient, he is technically skilful. He uses clusters of sound with a lavish exploitation of his medium that reminds one of abstract painting. Yet he is correspondingly true to his medium; rhyme is as necessary to his poem as cement is to the mason. Thompson explores various styles, from simple to close harmony, and it is a pleasure to see him endeavoring to correct a tendency toward over-facility even at the risk of strangling his verse. The physical luxuriance of the images, especially in the longer poems, recalls such Elizabethan erotica as "Venus and Adonis" and "Hero and Leander." (Ganymede is present as bellboy, page, groom, sailor, and acolyte.) He also makes great raids on the war for material to enrich his poetic mythology—a special augury of his successful development. The influence of modern poets, particularly Hopkins, is not as felicitous—it never is—and nowhere less so than in the somewhat pat generalizations of last lines and stanzas. Thompson belongs with the Spender-Barker-Dylan Thomas school of English poets, and is perhaps their first American ally. Like them, he revolts against all knowledge that does not come from personal experience, and he cannot make convincing poetry out of what he has not himself felt.

More often than not Thompson's poems are self-indulgent, verbose, and full of private symbols. Yet above all the confusion there rings out the sound of his furious battle to find his own true voice. The violence of his vision of the inner world, compounded of war, death, incertitude, isolation, reflects the cataclysm which traditional modes of thought and feeling are undergoing in the world today. Poetry, which bridges the inner and outer worlds, has had to abandon the concepts of religion, nature, social progress, and the dignity of man, and is now confronted with the breakup of one of its last great metaphors, idealistic love. Certain modern poets are therefore employing a world metaphor of sex, not because they are more exclusively concerned with the physical fact of sex, but because, being a physical fact, it seems one of the few constants left which are both objective and subjective enough to relate the individual to the world outside. The awareness of some such situation accounts for the symbols with which Thompson's myths are constructed; and that is also why his chief subject—the refusal of the lovesick to surrender to passion—is enough to provide him with a general means of communication

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Thompson's best work is found in two of his longer poems, Largo and Images of Disaster, but they are not as easily quotable as this stanza of a shorter poem, Tarquin, about the rape of the limbo lad:

> What daring could not do, the drinks have done:
> The limbo lad communicated one
> Last sacrament, and, fast as falling, heaven
> No longer held a stranger to emotion,
> Who, like a star, unsexed, unashamed, unshriven,
> Was hurled, a lost world, whirling past damnation:
> Circled by chaos but by eros spun,
> The devil burned much brighter than the sun.

Robert Fitzgerald's new book "A Wreath for the Sea" (New Directions, $2.50) brings up the central heartbreaking problem of American writing—the lack of a homogeneous cultural tradition which the writer can take for granted and in terms of which what he has to say will have more than an isolated meaning. Fitzgerald's struggle between the "brutal present and the soft past" is implicit in the general predicament, which is stated in the opening line of the poems: "Whom should I consult?"

Poetry has been propounding that question ever since Eliot's "Waste Land." It has never been answered, and it has by now lost all content. It is merely a convenience on which to string a diminishing series of negatives. The cry always meant more than any possible answer, for it was uttered in the context of the helplessness of personal emotion to accomplish anything save to reject the world. Fitzgerald is a descendant of the Eliot line. Eliot is the only survivor; his influence no longer nourishes modern poetry. That is hardly surprising when one considers that rejection of the world requires such an expenditure of energy that it is liable to impoverish the poet to the point of depriving him of his powers of communication. Fitzgerald, rejecting the present emotionally, is unable to express his feelings about it. He is consequently forced to repeat those of other poets. The poems dealing with the chaos of the present are not only derivative but lifeless and inarticulate. Personal experience is not fully communicated within the frame of the poem. In Quo Dolore Contenebratum Est Cor Meum the grief is not expressed in the refrain of "No. No./And the alleys offered their sorrow,/The gutters their cold tears." When in his search for order he turns back to his childhood, or to the past of history, in the typical American attitude of retrospection, he presents a chain of disconnected images, sensations, and suggestions—the raw material of poetry, unorganized and unassimilated, as in Cobb Would Have Caught It. Sometimes, as if he were wringing the last ounce of disorder from his memory, he will indulge in euphuisms such as "That dun, worn, airy to-be-bounced/Treasurable and humble dweller in closets" for a lost tennis ball.

Georgic, a translation of the first book of Vergil's Georgics, is, significantly enough, Fitzgerald's best poem. It is magnificent, one of the best modern translations I have ever read. Indeed, it sounds almost as if it were an original poem, fulfilling as it does Fitzgerald's need for a cultural setting, a world at rest, from which the "brutal present" is heard only as a far-off echo. The verse becomes incantation and lament, as in the pure beauty of "Let first the Pleiades and Hyades be hid/And Ariadne's diadem go down." Fitzgerald possesses the rare gift of being able to translate poetry into poetry. That is where his great receptivity is fully realized. In translating Vergil he creates the emotional equivalents, especially in sound, necessary to carry over the feelings of Vergil's age into those of his own.

The need always determines the form. Not only in his translations but in his own poems as well he recreates a farewell world, a haven of refuge, using as framework the earth and the sky, the seasons, the four directions, pastoral occupations, and growth and decay. He tames the elements, domesticates chaos, and produces a twilight universe, a shadowy middle state reminiscent of Tennyson's, as in Soul's Lake. Here are a few lines of one of Fitzgerald's best poems, Figures in an Advertisement. He is speaking of consulting the philosophers, "happy in their homes and seminars:"

> Hear the chalk splutter, hear the groping voice:
> Conceive the demiurge in his perpetual
> Strife with the chaos of the universe,
> That humming equilibrium of creation
> Pure and enormous, crossed by the constant
> Light of unimaginable combustion:
> Teems, how it teems. An elm tree sighs
> Beyond the dusty windowledge of June.
> As in the mind the notes of a melody
> Vibrate when vibration's gone, a series
> Generated by a decimal has no end;
> Observe it closely, though; it stops when it stops.
> The frail spectacles are bedimmed with spring.

A note about a book bargain. The Penguin Book of Sonnets, edited by Carl Withers (Penguin Books, 25 cents),

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H. P. LAZARUS

DRAMA

THREE plays have burgeoned on Broadway in the past two weeks which made me feel as if I were witnessing the season of the Elocution and Dramatic Society of Deep Woods, where a number of very good actors happened to be spending their vacations. The plays I have in mind are "—But Not Goodbye" (Forty-eighth Street Theater), "Pretty Little Parlor" (National Theater), and "Sheppey" (The Playhouse). All that is missing in each case is a little announcement by the leading citizen that the proceeds of the performance will go to meet the deficit of the Garden Club.

"—But Not Goodbye" is the best of the lot because it is so very unassuming. It will probably have a good run. It doesn't invite criticism and I shan't intrude. After all, critics should know their place, and there is no place for critics at "—But Not Goodbye." It is well acted by a cast which includes Harry Carey, Elizabeth Patterson, and J. Pat O'Malley, and I shall remember the line, "You've only been dead two hours, and you already think you know everything."

In the case of "Pretty Little Parlor" the society went a little berserk. Again the stage is overrun with good actors—Stella Adler, Sidney Blackmer, Joan Tetzel, Marilyn Erskine—but what goes on here is not so much a play as a series of impersonations. The principal one, that of the dominating woman, is written and acted with such single-minded zeal that it could pass for satire. The trouble is that it isn't intended that way. The other roles are only less hard ridden.

Playwrights take vacations too, and one can't help feeling that W. Somerset Maugham wrote "Sheppey" especially for the Deep Woods group. It seems unlikely that he would dare offer so blatant a collage of warmed-over clichés—of situation, characterization, and dénouement—except to an audience that was 'way off the railroad. There is a leading character who wins a sweepstake and who decides to use it up acting as Jesus would have done. Need I say that he introduces a tart and a petty thief into his home to the consternation of his family? The tart, you will no doubt remember, goes back to her trade because she's bored with the virtuous life. The petty thief tries to steal his benefactor's favorite knick-knack but is thwarted by the tart. And so on—and on.

The first act of "Sheppey" is good and might have led to something interesting, Mr. Maugham's talents being what they are. But it leads only to an interminable second act in which all the old material is gone over with a fine-tooth comb of dialogue that leaves no triteness unturned. Finally we are served the cliché to end all clichés. Death appears in the guise of a woman in a nifty trench coat—she has come to take Sheppey away just as he is about to be confined to a lunatic asylum because, of course, everyone thinks he's crazy—and she is actually permitted to tell the one about an appointment in Samarra.

The cast, which is headed by Edmund Gwenn, deserved something better.

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MUSIC

BOTH the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo and the Ballet Theater have completed their first week in New York as I begin this article; and I can say something about the Monte Carlo performances I have attended. I saw first a "Swan Lake" which was made unforgettable by Danilova's fluent grace and sovereign presence. With her was Youskevitch, who seems to me now to be the most brilliant dancer of his type; and Danielian, who has great agility but whose appearance and gestures and pantomime are destructive to a performance. After this came a new ballet, Nijinska's "Ancient Russia" to Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto No. 1—a feeble piece with a couple of good solos for Youskevitch. And then Massine's "Beau Danube," still charming even in its present shabby state: Danilova was in her old part of the street dancer; but for the hussar there was Franklin, who is engaging in his own way but lacks the Massine style for the Massine part; Danielian was the dandy; and one of the principals had a new costume in an intense blue that stood out among the original delicate pastels.

The second time there was Balanchine's "Serenade," its first part a fascinating progression of intricate pattern of bodily movement in stage space, its second part an equally fascinating progression of slow movement creating a sort of abstract emotional rhetoric. In the first part the patterns that needed to be so precise and sharply defined were blurred and smudged by the ragged performance; and the second part suffered from Danielian as the leading male dancer. Then came De Mille's "Rodeo," one of the outstanding works in the Monte Carlo repertory, and—with Franklin and Kokitch in their original parts—one of the best performed, even with Etheridge hamming the cowgirl where De Mille had made her points with finesse. Then "Pas de deux classique," with more of the exquisite classical dancing of Danilova and the brilliant dancing of Youskevitch. And finally Massine's "Gaité parisienne," with the Massine role poorly done by Starbuck, but with Danilova and Franklin delightful in their original parts.

Watching "Swan Lake" I suddenly realized that part of my intense pleasure was coming from the fact that I was being allowed to keep my eye and mind on the performance without interruption. And I salute publicly whoever at the City Center had the good sense to decide not to allow latecomers to spoil the performances for the people who had arrived on time. My emotion is the stronger because of my experience at the Metropolitan. Even seated in the center section, in the past, I have had the opening ballet repeatedly blotted out by people getting up for latecomers; but last week, seated in the side section, I had between the opening ballet and myself a wall created by the unending procession of people down the aisle; and the later ballets were obstructed by these people straggling in from the buffet and lobbies. I was therefore unable to get any reportable impressions of the Ballet Theater's performances.

There is, I am sorry to say, very little on Victor's April list that I find interesting. The feature set (963; $3.50) offers several of Stokowski's transcriptions which he recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra before he left it. The pieces are Bach's Chorale Prelude "Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu" and the aria "Es ist vollbracht" from his St. John Passion, both of which Stokowski recorded once before; No. 3 of Bach's Eight Little Preludes and Fugues for organ; the first movement of No. 1 of his Six Sonatas for pedal clavier; and Palestrina's "Adoramus Te"; and while some of this music is wonderful I can't take what Stokowski makes of it. The performances are recorded with impressive fidelity, clarity, spaciousness, and brilliance, and almost overpowering sonority at moments. The surfaces of my copy are noticeably noisy; more so with a wide-range Brush pickup than with a limited-range Astatic; and that, I might add, is true of the surfaces of most of the records I have received from Victor this month.

Another set (962; $2.50) offers Foote's Suite in E major for strings. Koussevitsky likes to exhibit his strings at the beginning of a concert; and this is one of the pieces he has long used for the purpose. It is an academic product which sounds now like Brahms, now like Tchaikovsky, now like Wagner; but the playing of the Boston Symphony strings is superbly recorded.

Then there is a set (965; $3.50) of Welsh traditional songs sung by Thomas L. Thomas, baritone, with harp accompaniments by Edward Vito. I haven't the feeling for this type of music that many other people have; and I am therefore unable to say how good these songs are of their kind, or how good Mr. Thomas's sonorous performances of them are.

On a single disc (11-8575; $1) is "Nigun," No. 13 of Ernest Bloch's "Baal Shem"—an impressive piece of declamation, well played by Elman (I haven't been able to compare his performance with Szigeti's in the Columbia set of the entire work). On another (10-1071; $.75) is Griffes's "Auf geheimem Waldespfade," one of his earliest published songs, a competent and agreeable product without any marked individuality, well sung by Eleanor Steber; on the reverse side is the even less consequental "Rapunzel" of John Sacco. Still another single disc (11-8570; $1) offers Schubert's "Ave Maria" sung by Richard Crooks with a monstrous orchestral accompaniment; on the reverse side is a terrible piece, "How Lovely Are Thy Dwellings," by Samuel Liddle. And another (11-8569; $1) offers from the past a not especially distinguished "Sempre libera" from "La Traviata" sung by Bori, and Caruso's acoustically recorded "Racondita armonia" from "Tosca" dubbed onto a present-day orchestral accompaniment—just why, I fail to understand.

A special release to honor Rachmaninov was a single disc (11-8593; $1) with his incisive performances of the Schumann-Taussig "Contrabandist" and Chopin-Liszt "Maiden's Wish" and "Return Home." I suggest honoring Rachmaninov by reissuing his performances with Kreisler of the Beethoven Sonata Opus 30 No. 3 and the Schubert Sonata Opus 162, which were among the finest things ever issued on records.

B. H. HAGGIN

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

Edward M. Maisel's "Charles T. Griffes: The Life of an American Composer," reviewed by B. H. Haggin.

Virginia Woolf's "A Haunted House and Other Stories," reviewed by F. W. Dupee.

Hans Kohn's "The Idea of Nationalism," reviewed by Rustem Vambery.

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Letters to the Editors

Mr. Van Doren Wonders Why

Dear Sirs: I cannot understand why you printed Irwin Edman's poem about Mortimer Adler's book, "How to Think About War and Peace," in your issue of April 8. The poem cleverly misrepresents the book, but I didn't know that you were for cleverness at all costs. The cost in this case is that some of Mr. Edman's readers will never know that Mr. Adler, far from being indifferent to the present agony of the world, takes his start from the most serious concern about it of which he is capable. He wants world peace as soon as possible, and he asks us all to reflect upon the necessary conditions of its being. To do so, he says, requires both the long view and the short view: the long view, so that our end will be clear, and the short view so that proposed means—expedients and truces—can be intelligently compared. Mr. Edman can scarcely mean that the plans he mentions (Mr. Adler mentions many more, and studies them) are of equal value because equally sincere. Yet that is what he implies; whereas Mr. Adler has done his best to provide a standard by which any such plan might be measured in terms of its probable success.

Mr. Adler's book is said to be hard to read. I have not found it so, but there must be something in the legend. Clifton Fadiman contributed a preface in which he warned the reader that he would be expected to think; and Walter Millis, reviewing Mr. Adler in the New York *Herald Tribune*, complained of his formidable manner. Both Mr. Fadiman and Mr. Millis, however, went on to discover a responsible content of unique value. I find no evidence in Mr. Edman's poem that he went on; none, even, that he read the first page. Mr. Adler is not charming as Mr. Edman can be charming, but I should expect one philosopher to be capable of reading another, at least if he contemplated a public report of the other's thought. I am not forgetting that the report in this case is a poem, and a light one. I am merely wondering whether you think poetic license is a license to be false. Mr. Edman would be ashamed, I suspect, to say in prose what he has said here in verse—namely, that he could not read a certain very serious book about war and peace. I am not saying he should have agreed with it. His privilege was to prove it anything he liked—for instance, wrong or superficial—in whatever way verse can best prove such things. What he did was to set a new record for cynicism and superficiality. And in *The Nation* of all places.

MARK VAN DOREN

New York, April 8

Mr. Edman Elucidates

Dear Sirs: Only the editors of *The Nation* can answer Mr. Van Doren's question as to why they printed my poem.

But I can and must answer Mr. Van Doren's insistence that I should not have written the poem, that the poem misrepresented the book, and that I had not read the book I was satirizing. I gather I should not have written the poem at all because Mr. Van Doren thinks "How to Think About War and Peace" a good book and therefore exempt from satire. My alleged misrepresentation of the book is based on the fact that the points I stressed are not those that impressed Mr. Van Doren. The conclusion that I had not read the book comes from the fact that I found in it things that Mr. Van Doren did not find.

I did indeed read the book, six weeks before publication, in proof, thanks to an intended kindness on the part of the publishers. I did not find in it any meaningful standards by which to measure the relevance or usefulness now of those plans which Mr. Adler examines and haughtily disposes of. I did not find any contribution to a "long view." Nor did I find any sense in taking as a criterion for plans for the immediate present or even the long present absolute peace defined in terms that make that peace five hundred years away in a formula. I did not find and nowhere suggested that I found the book hard. I found it easy to see and to see through. I found it pretentiously verbal, and as a technique for understanding, useless. I found no responsible content of unique value. I found the use of a dubious method of empty dialectic as a substitute for responsible empirical inquiry. I found Mr. Adler's "long view" so long that it seemed irrelevant to any conceivable span of human foresight and contrivance. I found "wrong" and "superficial" the assumption that unless you posited an absolute end, absolute peace, you could have no significant ends whatever or relevant means.

I am not the first in history to use satire to puncture what seems to him pretentious, verbalistic, and dogmatic. Mr. Van Doren, as the author of an admirable book on Dryden, should know this even better than I. It is not superficial or—in a democracy—lèse majesté to satirize a book for what seems its emptiness and arrogance, especially when it is on the most serious of themes. Nor is it cynical to expose the cynicism implied in putting any criterion of human betterment dialectically beyond human ken, to judge issues whose character is shaped here and now by a remote definition of a remotely possible peace.

Mr. Van Doren's letter finally suggests, quite apart from Mr. Adler's book, some sinister notions about freedom of expression. Is no satire to be permitted of any book that anyone thinks good, no matter how poor the satirist thinks it to be? As for "proving" my points in verse, must a poet hereafter submit a brief along with his poem? As for poetic license to be "false," who is to issue the licenses? Who is to decide whether the poet is true or false? Mr. Goebbels? Mr. Van Doren?

Mr. Van Doren can also be very charming. But his letter is a new high in totalitarianism and intolerance. And this from a former literary editor of *The Nation*, too!

IRWIN EDMAN

Cambridge, Mass., April 14

Dignity and Filibusters

Dear Sirs: It is fairly safe to say that human dignity is not attained by sulking. Neither is it to be won by calling attention to the important work that is the responsibility of any group. In fact, dignity is not a necessary prerogative of position, however exalted. It is the offspring of behavior, and no protestations or wails of indignation are substitutes.

Of course my remarks are aimed at the late exhibitionism of the Senate of the United States. There is always something funny in a solemn assertion of one's dignity—because it is so simple to earn a recognition of one's dignity by acting in a dignified manner.

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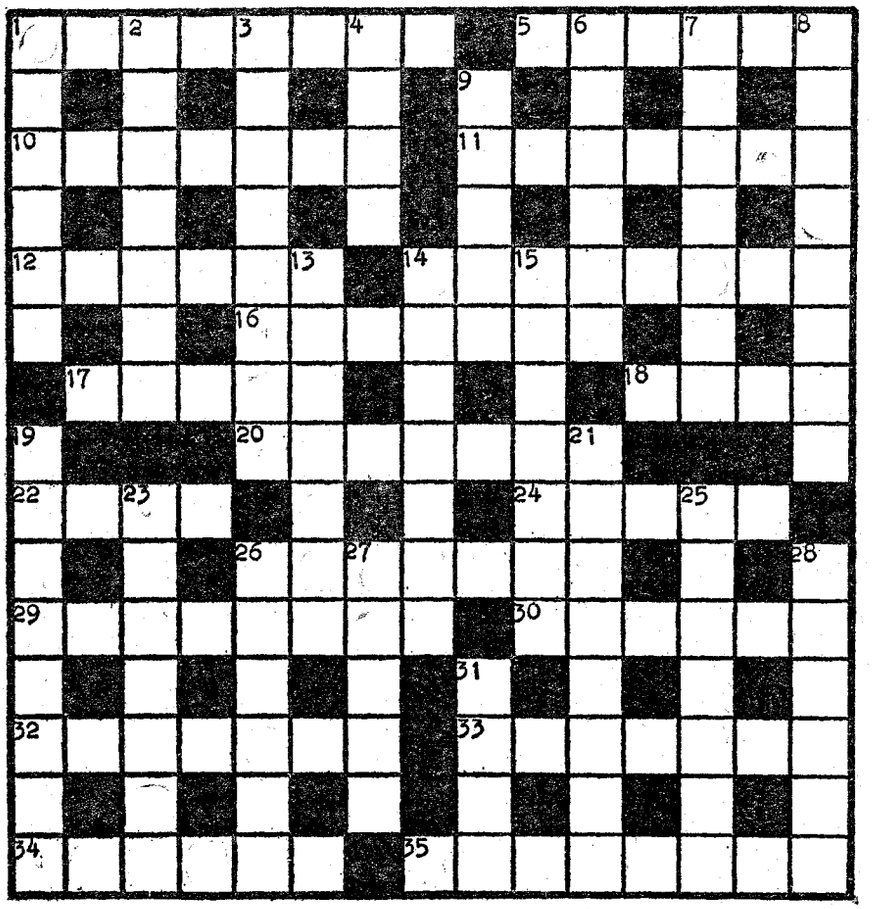
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 61

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 It is a double pleasure to deceive him!
5 Likewise Tally-ho
10 It gives a fair illumination
11 A U. S. salt makes a sudden attack
12 Exact, but by no means precise
14 A hot spell (hyphen, 4 and 4)
16 One envies them in a 14 Across
17 My gardener hates growing it
18 You'd naturally expect an emperor to appear in fine robes
20 In this case a printer's error would be correct
22 A short distance from the chin
24 No, Robert; a man of great wealth
26 Reel back from Art's egg
29 No skipper would care to venture into this Sea
30 By the man in it you don't mean the expert
32 How one sat, maybe, to ride
33 Charge made by a mad neat (bull, that is)
34 A "Don't" of our childhood days
35 Put up to be knocked down

DOWN

1 Fellow riding a donkey
2 An optical allusion
3 Prisoner-of-war, perhaps
4 Dash out of Melanesia
6 Attacks made with stones
7 Has been described as "the complexion of virtue"
8 An instigator (two words, 6 and 2)
9 Apron strings
13 Where the big guns congregate
14 "I'd go, Hal" (anag.)
15 Makes musical
19 Was it this old officer's duty to reward the servants?
21 Trim, neat and a strict disciplinarian
23 Artery—and you get it in the neck
25 Useful when there's dirty work to be done
26 Swift was a master of this
27 Awry, as the seventeenth letter
28 Potential beef
31 To run this is to be in a state of murderous frenzy

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 60

ACROSS:—1 TOMATO; 4 SCUTTLED; 10 MONOCLE; 11 AVENUES; 12 U-BOAT; 13 ILK; 14 EAGER; 15 TASSO; 17 ANOTHER I; 21 QUARRELS; 23 WATER; 26 OAKUM; 28 AIL; 29 AREAS; 30 MOMENTS; 31 TEA-TIME; 32 NOTARIES; 33 STAGES.

DOWN:—1 TIMBUKTU; 2 MINIONS; 3 TACIT; 5 CRACK; 6 THEME; 7 LOUNGER; 8 DESIRE; 9 CELIBATE; 16 OAR; 18 OBSOLETE; 19 HOW; 20 BRUSSELS; 22 UNKEMPT; 24 TEEMING; 25 DOLMEN; 27 MANOR; 28 AISLE; 29 ABAFT.

Now I ask how is it possible to think of the United States Senate as a dignified body of legislators when it permits —at times encourages—its members to hold up important legislation by reading aloud the Declaration of Independence, excerpts from "Alice in Wonderland," or the telephone directory of some large city? I have heard it stated that it is not commensurate with the dignity of the Senate to cut off any Senator from expressing his convictions concerning a bill. Granted. But does that really mean that he must be free to stand up and discuss any subject however irrelevant, and at any length he desires? I understand that other free nations have succeeded in heading off filibusters. It seems to me that now, when we are hearing so much of the dignity of the Senate, is a fine time for that body to set about reforming itself, compelling the nation to respect rather than laugh at it.

ANNIE NATHAN MEYER

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